

# California Journal

A MONTHLY DIGEST OF STATE GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

## **Special Election Issue**

***Unruh Versus Reagan***

***Who'll Run Legislature?***

***Lobbyist Contributions***

***Computer Campaigning***

***Statewide and Congress***

**September 1970 in Review**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG  
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

## Editor's Note

In one month, Californians will vote in a most crucial state election. The party which wins control of the Legislature will also win control of reapportionment of legislative and congressional districts, thus shaping the state's political future for much of the next decade. Vic Fazio, *California Journal's* political editor, has examined each of the 100 legislative races and, in a special eight-page section beginning on page 254, has attempted to identify the winners in all of the races. The twelve closest districts are individually analyzed in depth, so that readers can make their own evaluation.

John Jervis, respected Capitol correspondent for KCRA-TV in Sacramento, spent the first week of the campaign season with Jess Unruh and the second week with Ronald Reagan, as the long-awaited clash between the two men began. The strategies and styles of the two totally contrasting campaigns and personalities are captured in a television-sharp image beginning on page 248.

\*\*\*

For a view behind the campaigns, James Farmer and Michael J. Strumwasser, Los Angeles-based computer software consultants for RISE, Inc., describe the applications of computer technology to campaigning beginning on page 250.

\*\*\*

In addition to everything else on the ballot, there will be 20 state propositions. Many Californians, suffering from voter fatigue, will not read all the propositions as they appear on the ballot, let alone the 64-page pamphlet sent out by the Secretary of State, even if they are lucky enough to receive it. (A last-minute legal hassle held up the mailing schedule.)

We know, however, that our readers are much more conscientious than the average citizen in their voting behavior; we have therefore prepared a brief summary of each measure which we believe will be useful. This begins on page 252.

\*\*\*

The October issue will contain the earliest complete statewide election results available anywhere. The issue will be held until complete results are in, and will be mailed on November 6th if there is no repeat of June's delayed vote count.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

|                                             |         |
|---------------------------------------------|---------|
| Political Roundup .....                     | 247-261 |
| Third House: Campaign Contributions .....   | 262     |
| Legislature: Vetoes and Veto Session .....  | 264     |
| Executive Branch: Governor's Programs ..... | 266     |
| Calendar .....                              | 267     |
| Interview: Lucian B. Vandegrift .....       | 268     |
| Reports .....                               | 270     |
| Bench and Bar .....                         | 271     |
| People .....                                | 272     |
| Letter from Washington .....                | 273     |
| Votes .....                                 | 274     |

## California Journal

1108 O Street, Sacramento, California 95814  
916/444-2840

### EDITOR

Thomas R. Hoeber

### ASSOCIATE EDITORS

Judson Clark ..... Executive Departments  
Jerome Evans ... Education and Fiscal Affairs  
Victor H. Fazio ..... Legislature and Politics  
William Geyer ..... Agriculture and Resources

Assistant Editors: Ann B. Jenkins, Beverly W. Lane  
Washington Correspondent: Lou Cannon  
Counsel: Conrad Klein  
Assistant to the Editor: Shirley Biondi  
Subscription Manager: Gay Clark  
Business Secretary: Jackie Timmons

### Southern California Representative

Robert Ramsay  
750 S. Golden West Avenue  
Arcadia, California 91006  
213-446-8316 (Evenings)

### Information Service

Victor H. Fazio, Director  
G.L. Sherwood, Assistant

### ADVISORY COMMITTEE

|                              |                                                                                                                                             |
|------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Eugene C. Lee<br>Chairman    | Director, Institute of<br>Governmental Studies<br>Professor of Political Science<br>University of California, Berkeley                      |
| Richard Carpenter            | General Counsel<br>League of California Cities                                                                                              |
| Richard W. Gable             | Chairman, Department of Political<br>Science<br>Associate Director, Institute<br>of Governmental Affairs<br>University of California, Davis |
| Carma R. Leigh<br>Anne Rudin | State Librarian of California<br>President, California League<br>of Women Voters                                                            |
| John Whelan                  | Professor of Law<br>University of California, Davis                                                                                         |
| Alan J. Wyner                | Professor of Political Science<br>University of Calif., Santa Barbara                                                                       |

The interpretation and analysis of people and events in *California Journal* are not necessarily those of members of the Advisory Committee; they are not responsible for any articles, signed or unsigned, which appear in its pages.

September, 1970

Volume 1, Number 9

Copyright 1970 by California Journal, 1108 "O" Street, Sacramento, California, 95814; Judson Clark, President; Victor H. Fazio, Vice President; Jerome Evans, Treasurer; William Geyer, Secretary. Printed by Cal-Central Press. Rates are based on membership of clients and will be furnished on request. Second class postage paid at Sacramento, California.



## **GOP on Defense in Statewide Elections**

Many of the factors affecting the gubernatorial race are also at play in the other statewide races. The Republicans are stressing unity and have ample funds to publicize their theme, "Team for the 1970's". The Republican statewide candidates will be sold in unison from billboards and television screens at a rapidly accelerating rate as the election draws closer.

The Democratic candidates, however, have yet to appear together within range of the same camera. Although there is no apparent antagonism among the candidates, and party gatherings have been harmonious, it is quite clear that each candidate is running his own campaign in his own way.

The difference in strategy is not the only significant contrast between campaigns of the two major parties. The Republicans' relative wealth and Democrats' abject poverty are also important factors. Only John Tunney among the Democrats is running a sustained television effort. The state of the economy and a skeptical outlook on election prospects have discouraged many important Democratic party contributors.

### **Economic Pinch**

Lobbyists who have been major campaign contributors are also feeling the economic pinch. As corporate profits fall off, governmental affairs activities are high on the priority list for economies. Consequently, the lobbyists find themselves caught between tight-fisted clients and hard-pressed political candidates who need and want additional campaign funds to continue the extremely costly process of running for office. Ironically, one of the Democrats' best issues (the state of the economy) is hurting them as much as it is helping them.

Of the Democratic campaigns for the lesser statewide offices, only Edmund G. Brown, Jr., candidate for Secretary of State appears in the lead according to the polls. However, Ronald B. Cameron, running for Controller against Houston I. Flournoy seems to be making progress.

Evelle Younger, Los Angeles District Attorney, appears to be pulling away from Chief Deputy Attorney General Charles O'Erien. A sizeable contingent of the Southern California Democratic establishment has gone over to the Younger camp. A large proportion of Los Angeles voters, Republican and Democratic alike, seem to want to vote for Younger, who is believed to be building for a run at the Governor's office.

Milton Gordon may have finally weakened the protective shield surrounding Ivy Baker Priest with release of a copy of Mrs. Priest's fund-raising letter requesting that bankers with state deposits ante-up their proportionate share for her campaign treasury.

The Rafferty-Riles campaign seems about to become the most exciting race. Two live debates, one televised and widely broadcast, and a constant barrage of charges and counter charges have given the campaign visibility and voter appeal. Riles seems to be making headway as his supporters find that the incumbent superintendent is not omnipotent on the debating platform.

## **Congress Democrats Face Stiff Tests**

Most of California's 38-member congressional delegation are less concerned about their own contests than about the results of the state legislative races that will decide which party will control the reapportionment of congressional districts in 1971, and thus their future chances for reelection. A few incumbent Democrats face stiff challenges this November, however, and two marginal seats have been vacated by Democratic Congressman George Brown and U.S. Senate candidate John Tunney, leaving the choice of their successors completely up in the air.

Once again, as in almost every election year since he moved from the Assembly to Congress in 1963, Richard Hanna of Orange County will be number one on the Republican list of Democrats to defeat. His 34th District seat, which now includes portions of Long Beach and Lakewood in Los Angeles County, is little more than 53 percent Democratic. William Teague, Vice President of Pepperdine College, will represent the Republican Party for the second consecutive campaign. Hanna expects to capitalize on the economic slump affecting Orange County's aerospace industry, but Teague, who lost by only 4,000 votes in 1968, may come even closer this time.

Republicans hope to increase their strength in the congressional delegation by electing Assemblyman Victor Veysey of Brawley to Tunney's 38th District seat. That district covers Riverside, Imperial and part of San Bernardino counties. Veysey's opponent, Dave Tunno, who was Tunney's administrative aide, is attempting to parlay his years of constituent service into a victory for the Democrats. Veysey has had Vice President Agnew, presidential counselor Robert Finch, and Agriculture Secretary Clifford Hardin appear on his behalf.

A new breed of Republican moderates is running for office in the Los Angeles County suburbs. Mike Donaldson is attempting to pick up where Peace Corps Director Joe Blatchford left off in his close race with former Lieutenant Governor Glen Anderson in Southwest Los Angeles' 17th District. Congressman Anderson won by 4,000 votes in 1968, however, and must be considered the favorite against former deputy district attorney Donaldson.

In the East Bay Area, Berkeley councilman Ron Dellums, running without the support of Representative Jeffrey Cohelan, the man he defeated in June, has a tough race against 25-year-old Republican John Healy. Heavy Democratic registration still makes Dellums the favorite.

In the 15th District, made up of San Joaquin and Stanislaus Counties and part of Merced County, Congressman John McFall, a member of Congress since 1957, continues to lose ground to Republican Sam Van Dyken, who is running against him for the third consecutive time.

State Senator George Danielson, seeking the 29th Congressional District seat vacated by Representative Brown, is favored over businessman Tom McMann, a Republican newcomer. The East Los Angeles-West San Gabriel Valley district has a solid Democratic registration, and Danielson is considerably more moderate than Brown. However, if Chicano leaders decide to withhold support from Danielson because he defeated their primary candidate, McMann might have a chance.

**The Challenger****Unruh's Confrontation Politics**

by John Jervis

Henry Salvatori's house two hours and 200 miles behind him, Jess Unruh leaned back in the seat of a chartered airliner and discoursed on campaigning in California.

"There are really four ways to run a campaign. One, you can have the Rockefeller or Kennedy kind of money. Two, you can be packaged up and sold like a can of Right Guard. Three, you can run face-to-face, man-to-man with your opponent. "Or," said the Democrats' candidate, "you can run my kind of campaign."

Groping a bit for the right combination of words to describe "my kind of campaign," a smile creased Unruh's face. He undoubtedly was thinking back to the spectacular confrontation at Salvatori's iron gate. It marked the kind of head on, splashy scene that candidate Unruh hopes will spark an uphill drive to unseat Ronald Reagan.

Detractors say the Unruh approach is a "campaign of desperation." Backers contend it is a campaign of confrontation that could waken voters to the danger of another four years of Ronald Reagan. More probably, it is a campaign born of circumstance, driven by a forceful and outspoken man who is fulfilling one ambition (running for Governor) and trying to fulfill another (winning the Governorship).

The campaign strategy is spelled out by the 47-year-old candidate himself. It is dictated by less-than-ideal financing, an elusive opponent, and lasting images of the men involved.

**Political Realism**

A man who turned to idealism late in his legislative career, Unruh steadfastly remains a political realist. He knew—before the polls—that nine out of ten voters had already decided how they would vote two months before election day. Voters who have decided that early can be "switched" only by gaining their attention—whatever the means—and converting them. The man, the media and the money are the tools. The right combination, Unruh thinks, could weld together the votes to win.

The former Assembly Speaker knows he is dealing from a "political past" that has made his name a villainous word, especially in Republican households. The circumstances of the 1970 campaign require a splash, and the media must be there to witness and report it. How else can the tide be turned?

Interwoven in his campaign message is the theme that the Republican administrations in Washington and Sacramento are inextricably bound together. It points a stubby, accusing finger at mounting inflation, rising unemployment and the soaring cost of welfare. If there is direct American military involvement in the Middle East, if there is a heat up in Southeast Asia, if unemployment deepens—candidate Unruh will be stressing the "Nixon-Reagan axis".

Candidate Unruh, who must, in viewing the polls, see his entire political life run before him, will not sit idly by to engineer a diffident, but losing campaign. If not as weighty as he once was physically, the candidate has lost none of the powerful drive that took him from campus politician to Assembly leadership in a decade.

A tune that runs through every Unruh day is the campaign's lack of money. ("We probably won't be able to go to every place in the state . . . but we're going to try to go everywhere we can.") Statewide television advertising is very expensive, and the Democratic candidate said early he couldn't afford it.

Thus, on Labor Day, money was spent instead for chartering an airliner. Newsmen were invited to travel along free. Generous time was afforded at each stop for newsmen to file stories detailing the latest episode in a campaign of the uncertain, the near-confrontation, the personal.

News stories, print and film, are better than paid advertising. For better, for worse, the words and scenes

poured out. The drama of a near-miss face-to-face confrontation with the Governor at San Jose and Unruh on the sidewalk of the Governor's rented house in Sacramento spelling out his landlords' names were stories editors found time and space for. Money well spent.

California has a huge reservoir of residents who go for years without registering to vote. Operating a campaign to find and record these people costs

money. Again, money well spent, in Unruh's mind, since the preponderance of these people are low-income democrats. The second half of that campaign is to find them election day and get them to the polls.

But a registration drive alone can not turn back Governor Reagan. The Unruh motif is to: show every wavering voter that the Governor has had four years to "clean up the mess at Berkeley," and has not; show voters that the Governor is the pawn of big business, which has slickly packaged him and placed him a television studio for presentation "like so many cans of Right Guard"; stress that Reagan cares little for the young or the old, that he does not care for tax reform that will close loopholes for the wealthy and benefit the middle-income voter.

Another element in the early Unruh strategy, likely to continue, is to chase after Governor Reagan, demanding a "man-to-man" debate—"the man's way to enlighten the voter." Hammering away at those and other themes, Unruh believes, will crack what he considers thin skin in the Governor's camp. It might force a major mistake on the Governor's part, one costing him votes.

The Unruh campaign is on the offensive, stressing the personal and philosophical differences between the candidates. And, at the top of the organization—candidate Unruh thinking, directing, enunciating, aiming.

In mellow moments, Unruh leans on his love of country music, and has improvised new lyrics for an ancient ditty that he sings quietly: "He's got a tiger by the tail, it's plain to see; he's got a tiger by the tail, and he won't be much when he's through with me . . ."



Hugo

## The Incumbent

# Reagan's Confident Campaign

by John Jervis

Governor Reagan eased by a small bar in his plush press bus and into a fur-covered swivel chair. The bus pulled away from the site of the State Bar convention where the Governor told jurists and attorneys they ought to police their own shop.

For the next 20 minutes, as the bus rolled smoothly toward a charter flight at the Santa Monica Airport, the conversation moved lightly through his days as sports announcer and actor. He touched, thoughtfully on the charismatic style of Aimee Semple McPherson, whom he once interviewed. "She was the kind of person who could just walk into a room and turn all heads," he added.

For a man who appears to be the better part of a million votes ahead — the Governor shows it. In a something of a contrast to 1966, Ronald Reagan is relaxed and affable. Gone is his standoffish attitude toward newsmen. Now he mixes easily with them, sometimes riding on the bus. The conversation is almost always light, anecdotal. He is ahead, the entire Reagan entourage knows it and they are confident.

The Governor is playing the part of a big winner, but he is running hard — as if his political life depends not only on winning, but winning big. When asked why he should campaign so diligently when so far ahead, the Governor shrugs and says, "tell those guys." He motions in the direction of campaign staffers Tom Reed and Paul Haerle. Reed, GOP National Committeeman from California, was an enthusiastic delegate vote-counter in the scramble for the Republican presidential nomination in 1968. Haerle, Northern California campaign chairman, is a former Reagan staff member.

### No Conflict Shows

Reed and Haerle intermix easily with the Spencer-Roberts machinery and the Governor's own Sacramento press staff. If there is ever noisy grinding behind the scenes it is seldom heard.

The much-publicized Spencer-Roberts organization spews out the answers to the problems that trouble the voter. The spectre of crime in the streets, the high cost of welfare and local taxes and campus anarchy are raised; the Governor revels in the grim facts and details and then comes on to propose solutions. Good advance work and the Governor's "name" insure a good crowd. Seldom are they disappointed.

For all the input the Governor gets, whatever the source, it is he who is on the line. It is he who is up there speaking, he whose looks belie his 59 years, he who comes across as earnest, sincere and reverent. It is his name that will appear on the ballot.

In short, the campaign and the candidate are slick, professional and on time. Interspersed in each day's sched-

ule is rest and consultation time for the candidate. Some of the Governor's worst moments in the '66 campaign came when he was tired. Mrs. Reagan and Spencer-Roberts haven't forgotten.

Governor Reagan is supremely aware of the people he is addressing. Standing in the sun before a county fair grandstand filled with school children, he smoothly moved through a discourse on the benefits of the American way of life. High in the grandstand, surrounded by children, a Spencer-Roberts man pointedly looks at his watch. The Governor gets the cue without missing a beat, "Well, they're saying we've got to move along now . . ."

Ten minutes later he is addressing the parents, confiding that the variation in ages of their children may have affected his ability to communicate with every one of them.

Several hours later the Governor is embarked on a twin appearance in San Francisco. At the first, a fund-raising cocktail reception, he excuses himself early. "I know I've got your vote. You know when you go to some of those non-partisan affairs you get a crack at some of those people who aren't already sold."

The Reagan campaign is aimed at those Democrats who might not be sold. Five minute television commercials, expensively produced and cleverly placed in the early evening began showing up in early September. They catch the working man's eye as he sits down in front of his television set. Again, they pose the problems, graphically, and offer a solution — re-elect Governor Reagan.

### Rise from Obscurity

The Reagan campaign strategy is to use the candidate's countenance and ability to communicate to fullest advantage. Those techniques brought Ronald Reagan out of political obscurity in the mid-60s, made him Governor of California, and propelled him into a formidable, but abortive presidential campaign. Until Vice President Spiro Agnew emerged, Governor Reagan was the most cherished fund raising speaker the Republican Party possessed.

The Governor also pleads with party workers to help elect the entire ticket, and he is doing so earlier in this campaign than in 1966. Now, more than before, the Governor appreciates the value of controlling the legislature.

He has enjoyed little success with his legislative programs. If given another four-year term and a better margin in the State Senate and Assembly, what kind of a Governor will he be? Backers say privately he will be more independent of partisan dictates and more free-wheeling in his direct appeal to the electorate to help combat "the evil forces afoot on the campus and streets of California. Evil forces," he adds, "who would destroy our way of life."

To get there requires "running hard" and spending lots of money in the process. In his mind, this time, it means fighting party overconfidence.

When addressing purely Republican gatherings the Governor says it in jocular fashion and it always gets an uncomfortable laugh. "I don't want to be known as the Tom Dewey of 1970," he says.



Hugo

**New Political Tools****Computers Guide All Campaign Phases**

by James Farmer and Michael J. Strumwasser

A new computer-based technology for political campaigning, originally developed by university researchers, is reshaping the tactics of political campaigning at all levels in California. Professional campaign managers and political analysts are using the new tools—simulation models, computerized voter name files, campaign control systems, computer letters, and demographic analysis—in an attempt to add greater objectivity and individual impact to traditional campaign methods. Although it may be several years before the effectiveness of such techniques can be assessed accurately, candidates for major offices, including California's Governor Ronald Reagan, are using the new computer systems as quickly as they are developed.

An estimated 80 percent of all campaign managers have never run a previous campaign. Consequently, a large part of the new technology is brought to bear to help organize the manager's effort. One device, adapted from aerospace projects, is the PERT control system by which all campaign events and operations are listed, sequenced and dated. This diagrammatic "network" of events is intended to prevent inexperienced campaign staff from overlooking a critical task and to furnish a continuous assessment of the progress of the campaign.

Computer files of previous donors and volunteers are used to organize and then secure the financial resources and manpower required by every campaign. Both national political parties currently operate computerized finance systems. Demographic or ethnic selection from computerized voter registration or magazine subscription lists provides names and addresses for the first solicitations, and computerized finance systems provide a detailed record for each succeeding campaign. The success which the Goldwater campaign of 1964 had with national mailings as fund raising devices served to establish this technique.

**Scientific Research.**

Proponents of the new technology say that the research phase of a campaign is changing from a subjective assessment, akin to intuition, to analytic modeling of the range and intensity of voter attitudes. With the help of opinion polls, campaign leaders attempt to measure the forces which influence a particular kind of voter, and each campaign tactic is selected to either reinforce the voter's identification with the candidate or to avoid mentioning issues which antagonize the voter.

An early example of this was the Simulmatics model used by Democrats in the 1960 Presidential election. Based on demographic variables, the electorate was divided into 480 subsets. The potential effects of various campaign strategies, including Kennedy's treatment of the Catholicism issue, were run through the model. A post-election analysis indicated that many of the model's predictions were very accurate. More recently, computer models have been developed to use issue preference data (derived from polls) to determine a candidate's optimal position — that

yielding the greatest number of favorable votes — on each issue.

Vote histories, an expanded census, and other publicly available socio-economic data can be used to rank each precinct according to its probable disposition towards a candidate. Republican clients of Spencer-Roberts, including Ronald Reagan, George Murphy, and Cal Plan, will use a voter simulation model called PAST (Political Analysis of Socio-Economic Conditions) and PIPS (Precinct Index Priority System) made available by Decision Making Information (DMI), an off-shoot of Spencer-Roberts.

**Delivering the Message**

After research and analysis have identified critical subsets of the electorate and have determined the nature of the appeals which must be made to them, the campaign manager must select the best means of delivering those messages. Mass media obviously have a major place in most campaigns, but they are rarely efficient for specialized messages. The specialized media — professional and ethnic press, radio and TV stations with selective appeal, and billboards in chosen communities — are more effective for getting a particular message to a particular group of voters.

The device which has grown most rapidly in popularity, however, is the computer letter. Ideally, individual computer messages are written and addressed to go only to a selected portion of the electorate and to no one else. In Joseph Alioto's winning campaign for Mayor of San Francisco, for example, as many as 200 different variations of a standard letter were directed to voters who had been categorized by party registration and neighborhood.

The degree to which the computer letter is on target is largely a function of the quality of the preliminary research, or the data base. If a file describing each member of the electorate were available, then each voter could receive the one best combination of the many form paragraphs most appropriate to his interests and most likely to create a favorable response. Although the computer letter is being used extensively by candidates of both parties, in practice it often fails to achieve maximum impact due to poor preliminary research.

**Voter Data Base**

The benefits of an extensive voter base are widely recognized in California where election districts tend to be large both in population and geography. It has become obvious to professional politicians, however, that such a file cannot be prepared during a single campaign. Consequently, planning and data collection are becoming year-round activities for those candidates or permanent party organizations with sufficient funds.

The first step in establishing the base is to establish a computer-readable entry for every voter. This may require a canvass of the electorate, but, with imagination, excellent and inexpensive sources for updating the data base can be

developed. In general, government records such as motor vehicle registrations are becoming increasingly available, and other sources — including magazine subscription lists, commercial censuses and some rather touchy sources like credit ratings and welfare and health records — are being exploited for this purpose. Although consolidating the information from these sources represents a major problem, there are now computerized name-matching algorithms which should result in a dramatic increase in research, analysis, and targeting efficiency.

### Getting Out the Vote

On election eve and election day, all available volunteers man telephones and knock on doors to encourage voting. The effectiveness of the get-out-the-vote effort is dependent upon information about the individual voter or, failing that, information about each neighborhood. A typical strategy focuses resources on those neighborhoods or precincts having a high percentage of partisan registration.

As party registration statistics are not the only determinant of voting behavior, a more sophisticated precinct ranking system, utilizing past voting patterns, for example, may produce more favorable results. Precincts which rank high on the list receive the most attention on election day; the lowest ranking precincts are to be avoided entirely.

When complete records of individual voters become available, the same technique can be applied to create individual rankings. One such model has already been developed in California. Using party registration, frequency of voting in the previous primary, occupation, number of children, and census tract of residence, the model assigned a ranking of probable preference to each of 150,000 voters in one congressional district. The model was tested against a professional survey, modified for closer correlation, and used by workers on election day to contact every voter whose computer score showed him likely to vote for the party's candidate.

### Impact of Computerization

This is the current state of the art in computer applications to campaigning. Many of the techniques are not yet in wide practice; indeed, it now appears possible that they may be passed over entirely in favor of much more sophisticated methods. In any case, however, it is likely that computer operations will gradually become a necessity for competition in the political arena — and it is equally likely that the political process will undergo change as a result.

- First, while it is not necessary for a campaign manager to be able to construct a mathematical model of electoral behavior, familiarity with computer-based techniques is necessary to interpret their results. Just as corporations require professional managers, political operations increasingly require professional campaign managers experienced in the use of these tools. Highly specialized hybrids of advertising agencies and public relations firms are coming into existence to provide this expert campaign management. The rules by which such firms select their clients and the kinds of influence they exert on them are as yet undefined, but they will certainly have a significant effect on the political process.
- As computer-based campaign tactics become more widely accepted, they may tend to become self-fulfilling. If analysis shows that a candidate cannot win despite the

predicted effects of campaigning, it is very likely that resources will be diverted from that candidate and he will indeed lose. This is, of course, the essence of successful party programs like the Republicans' Cal Plan. If the party then decides who is to be the nominee, and where contributions will have the most effect, its strength will grow. As a consequence, the candidate is likely to be controlled by the technology mastered by the permanent party organization.

- A third consequence of the implementation of these techniques will be a drift into what might be termed "continuous democracy". Because of the ease and frequency with which surveys can be conducted, a continuous profile of the electorate may be developed. A policymaker can see the consequences of his decisions a very short time after they are made public, and he can even project the public's responses to each possible future decision. Although this may make political leaders more responsive to popular sentiment, the pressures on politicians to avoid all positions which are unpopular in the short-run may also be increased.
- Fears as to the use of computer data banks often have been expressed in regard to credit records and governmental activities. Similarly, advances in the area of specific voter information systems are bound to alarm those who resent objective analysis of their political behavior, just as they would resent someone peering over their shoulder in a voting booth. Invasion of individual privacy is an obvious danger inherent in the new technology.
- Perhaps the most wide-reaching effect of the introduction of computer techniques may be the concomitant redistribution of influence. The techniques described above not only require considerable funds but are believed to make large-scale campaign expenditures more effective and, consequently, more important. If, for example, expenditures for a voter data base will make a telephone campaign more effective, it is even more vital that the funds be available for that project. As a result, the supplier of the necessary resources, the interest group, the party fund-raiser, or, perhaps, the united groups of small contributors, may gain increased influence over the candidate.

Those most likely to gain from the application of computers to politics are the political party organizations (or the transitory leaders of them) and permanent interest groups. First, they have control over most of the money available. Second, they often control the volunteers necessary to man the telephones and walk the precincts under professionally-directed leadership. But most important, the parties will derive power from these techniques because the techniques depend for their effectiveness upon continuing effort rather than last minute activity. It is usually uneconomical to have the data collected and the analysis and programming performed for a single campaign, but if such investments can be made to show a return every two years, they become very cost-effective.

It is the permanent political structures, with the assistance of professional campaign managers, which have made possible the application of computer technology to political campaigning, and it is they who will reap the greatest benefit.

# State's Voters Face Twenty Propositions

A total of 20 state propositions will confront California voters at the November general election: two bond issues (1 and 20), 16 constitutional amendments (2-10, 12-18) and two amendments to statutes enacted by initiative (11 and 19). Two of the constitutional amendments, Propositions 14 and 16, failed to pass in June 1970 as Proposition 5 and in November 1968 as a portion of Proposition 1. Both were recommended by the Constitution Revision Commission, which is also responsible for the amendments contained in Propositions 15 and 17. The other 16 propositions were originated in the Legislature, this year and last, in response to requests from the administration or various interest groups or as legislative solutions to particular state problems.

**1** *Water Treatment Facilities.* Proposition 1 authorizes the state to sell \$250 million in general obligation bonds. The proceeds from these bonds are to be used for grants to municipalities which need such assistance in order to obtain federal matching grants for the construction of water treatment and reclamation works. In addition, the funds may be used to support local and statewide plans for water treatment and waste disposal and to provide loans to public agencies for similar purposes. Up to \$10 million of the proceeds may be used to repay earlier state revenue bonds sold to provide assistance to municipalities for the construction of sewage facilities. The new bonds are to be repaid from state tax revenues.

**2** *Vacancies in Constitutional Offices.* This measure amends the state Constitution to give the California Supreme Court exclusive jurisdiction to determine questions of vacancy in the offices of Lieutenant Governor, Attorney General, Controller, Secretary of State, Treasurer, and Superintendent of Public Instruction. The Court has this authority regarding the office of the Governor under existing law. Proposition 2 also grants exclusive authority to raise questions of vacancy in these offices to "a body provided for by statute." A companion measure, AB 1042, which becomes operative if Proposition 2 is approved, establishes a Commission on Constitutional Officers and gives it exclusive authority to petition the Supreme Court regarding vacancies in the office of Governor and the disability of other constitutional office holders. This commission is made up of the Senate President pro Tempore, the Speaker of the Assembly, the Director of Finance, the President of the University and the state college Chancellor. AB 1042 also establishes criteria for determining when an office becomes vacant. Opponents believe that only the people should be able to remove elected constitutional officers. They maintain that civil servants and appointive deputies can perform all necessary duties in the event of incapacitation.

**3** *State Budget.* Proposition 3 revises the calendar for legislative action on the annual state budget. It requires the Governor to submit his budget to the Legislature during the first ten days of each regular session, rather than within the first 30 days. It also provides that beginning in 1972 the Legislature shall pass the budget bill by midnight on June 15th of each year. At present there is no deadline for legislative action.

The purpose of these changes is to advance the budget process to avoid the last minute decisions which have become characteristic of that process. The problem has become particularly acute in recent years as the Legislature has passed the budget only at the very last moment — or, as occurred this year, after the start of the new fiscal year. (*California Journal*, July 1970, pages 184-186.)

Opposition to this measure is based primarily on the belief that it will be extremely difficult for governors to meet the budget submission deadline, particularly in the year immediately following their election.

**4** *Public School Appropriations.* Whenever the annual budget bill has not been passed within 130 days after its introduction, the Legislature will be authorized to enact a separate measure providing state support for the public schools. The school fund bill must have been introduced within the first 30 days of the session by the chairman of the Senate or Assembly education committee and must receive two-thirds approval but, unlike other emergency fiscal legislation, will not require the prior recommendation of the Governor. At present only emergency fiscal measures which are recommended by the Governor may be acted upon before the budget bill is passed.

The purpose of this measure is to make it possible to move ahead with consideration of school funding needs while the annual budget is being considered, and to enact an appropriation if the budget bill becomes stalled. In recent years legislative action on school funds has come after the school districts have completed their budget decisions. Opponents of the measure claim that it singles out school support for preferential treatment.

**5** *Regents Meetings.* Proposition 5 adds a provision to the Constitution requiring all meetings of the Regents of the University of California to be open to the public, subject only to specific exceptions approved by the Legislature. A bill listing exceptions (including consideration of personnel matters, actions related to national security, investment decisions, and litigation) passed the 1969 session and will go into effect if this proposition is approved by the voters. Because of the University's constitutional protection from legislative control, the Regents are now exempted from state laws which require all other state and local agencies to hold open meetings.

Opposition stems from a fear that disruption will result if the public is permitted to attend Regents meetings.

**6** *Retirement Fund Investment.* Although the state Constitution prohibits the state from becoming a stockholder in any corporation, it authorizes the Legislature to invest pension and retirement funds, except the Teachers' Retirement Fund, in specified types of stocks and investment company shares. This proposition deletes specific exclusion of the Teachers' Retirement Fund, allowing monies from the fund to be treated in the same way as monies in other retirement funds. The measure is broadly supported by teachers' organizations and other groups and is without organized opposition.

**7** *State College Trustees.* This measure would add a provision to the state Constitution to make the Speaker of the Assembly an *ex officio* member of the governing board of the state colleges, with all the rights of other members as is presently his role on the Board of Regents of the University of California. There are no references now in the Constitution to the state college board; the Board of Trustees of the California State Colleges is a statutory body. The Speaker of the Assembly is specially designated by statute as a one-man interim committee of the Legislature to sit with the Trustees. As such, he is simply an observer who may participate in discussions but may not vote, unlike the Lieutenant Governor, who as President of the Senate has a vote on both the Board of Trustees and University Regents. This fact has been as frustrating and irritating to the present Speaker as it was to his predecessor.

It would be possible to give the Speaker full membership on the Board of Trustees by statute without adding to the Constitution. The argument of the opposition, however, is centered on a desire to remove *all* elected officials from both boards to prevent them from becoming involved in partisan wrangling.

**8** *Department of Education.* Article IX of the Constitution includes a provision requiring the State Board of Education to appoint a Deputy Superintendent of Public Instruction and three Associate Superintendents who are exempt from civil service and have four-year terms. Proposition 8 adds a second Deputy Superintendent but makes both appointments permissive rather than mandatory. It also provides that the terms of these appointees shall run concurrently with the term of the Superintendent. The purpose is to give the department greater administrative flexibility and to increase the accountability of the Superintendent and the Board. The opposition argument is that this will further diffuse administrative responsibility without resolving continuing administrative problems.

**9** *County Superintendent of Schools.* County superintendents are now elected by the voters in each county. This amendment to the Constitution would permit the 47 general law counties to provide for the appointment of the county superintendent by the county board of education. To qualify, the county board of supervisors is required to adopt an ordinance providing for the appointment and to submit the ordinance to the county voters for approval. A similar provision applies to two or more counties which may be authorized by the Legislature to unite for the purpose of appointing a single superintendent. The 11 charter counties now have these powers. The opponents would like to retain direct voter control over the post.

**10** *Interest Rates.* This measure extends the exemption from constitutional limitations on interest rates to exempt loans of \$100,000 or more made to a corporation or a partnership. The Constitution now limits to 10 percent the maximum interest rate which can be charged for a loan of money under written contract. It exempts, however, loans by savings and loan associations, credit unions, industrial loan companies, banks, pawnbrokers and others. The maximum interest rates for these exempt organizations may be set by the Legislature. It is argued that the proposed extension of the exemption will

remove an unnecessary obstacle to construction industry loans. Opposition is based on the contention that any relaxation of interest rate ceilings will eventually hurt consumers.

**11** *Chiropractors.* This is an amendment to an initiative approved by the voters in 1922; as such it must also be approved by the voters. The measure authorizes the Board of Chiropractic Examiners to adopt rules of professional conduct for chiropractors and specifies the manner in which these rules are to be adopted, amended or repealed. The board, under the terms of the original initiative, is the licensing agency for chiropractors, but its powers to adopt rules of professional conduct and training are very limited, according to the Attorney General.

**12** *Salaries of County Supervisors.* The Legislature now sets the salaries of county supervisors in all 47 general law counties and in those 9 charter counties which have designated the Legislature as the salary setting authority (only Los Angeles and San Francisco do not). This amendment would remove the Legislature from this role, assigning the responsibility back to the boards of supervisors. The present system reflects the fact that the counties are created by the state, but ignores the fact that local taxpayers must pay all county salaries. It is argued that the proposed amendment will strengthen home rule and give the voters in each county a greater voice in local budget matters.

**13** *Veterans Tax Exemption.* This will authorize the Legislature to increase the property tax exemption for "totally disabled" veterans from \$5,000 to \$10,000, to grant the same exemption to unmarried widows of such veterans, and to extend the \$5,000 property tax exemption for blind veterans to include homes in cooperative housing projects. The necessary legislation to carry out these provisions was passed in 1969 and will go into effect if this proposition is approved. There is no organized opposition.

**14** *State Civil Service.* This is the third appearance on the ballot for this measure, which will increase the number of administrative positions exempted from state civil service. Additional exempt positions are to be provided for the Lieutenant Governor's office and for elected and appointed state boards and commissions. These amendments, together with certain restatements of continuing provisions, are recommended by the Constitutional Revision Commission to provide more political accountability. Opponents claim that it will expand political patronage and weaken the state's civil service system.

**15** *Miscellaneous Constitutional Provisions.* This measure provides for the deletion or revision of a number of provisions of Article XX of the state Constitution which covers "miscellaneous subjects". It repeals provisions dealing with duels, return to public office or employment after military service, elections, and other subjects where the language is believed to be obsolete or adequately treated by statutory provisions. Provisions relating to the location of the capitol, separate property, wages, discrimination and other matters are revised and shortened in order to simplify those provisions.

(continued on page 272)

# Bay Area Has Three Tight Contests

## State Senate

In the Marin-Solano-Napa Counties 4th Senate District, Republican liberal Peter Behr of Mill Valley, an attorney and leading conservationist, appears to project the right image for Marin County voters. However, Michael Peevey of San Rafael, Coordinator of Community Programs at UC Berkeley and an expert in the field of taxation, is an equally strong environmentalist. Behr, who has never been a "party man" and may suffer from some defections within Republican ranks, is expected to prevail even while losing to Peevey in Napa and Solano Counties. Behr is ahead but running hard.

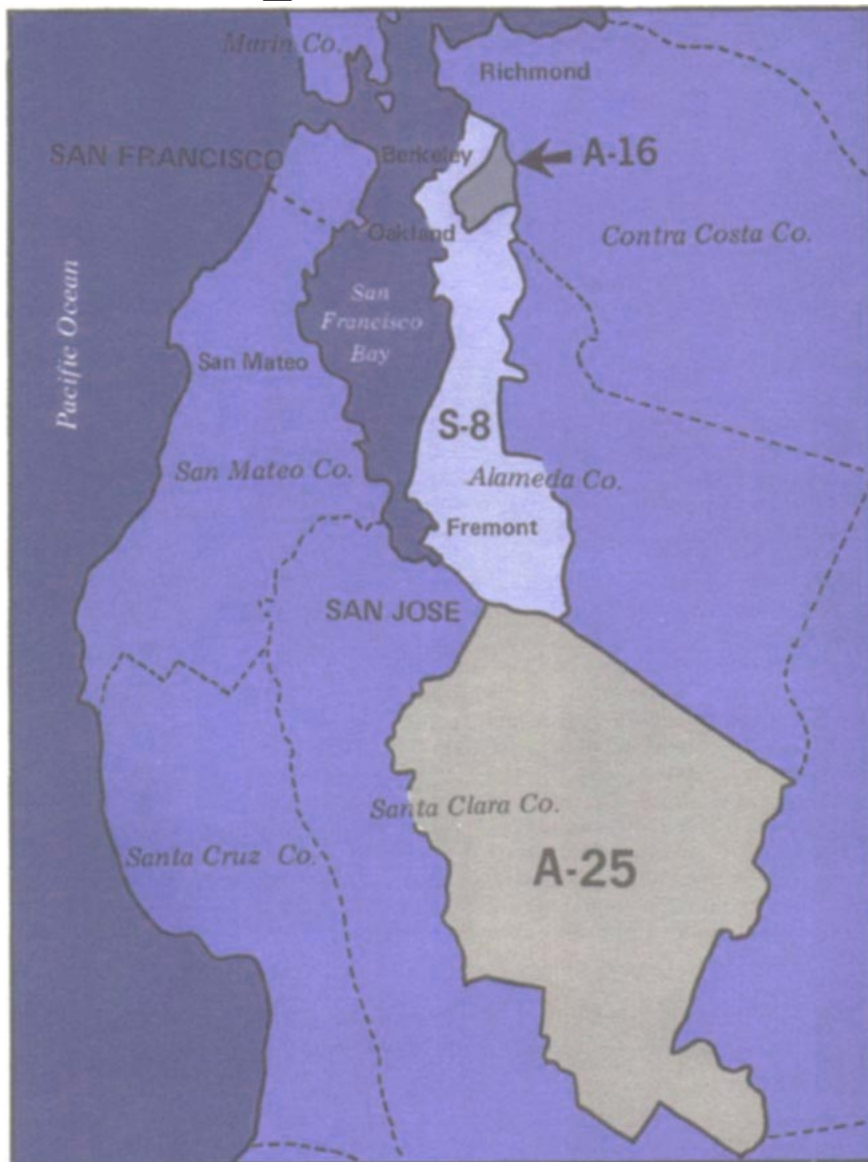
Assemblyman Carl Britschgi of Redwood City, retiring from the Assembly after 12 years of service, is favored to move on to win the 12th Senate District which covers all of San Mateo County. The veteran Republican is having trouble picking up the support of party conservationists who opposed him in the primary, but his Democratic opponent, attorney Arlen Gregorio of San Mateo, appears to lack the campaign resources to win an uphill fight.

Democrat John B. Rutherford of Los Altos Hills is challenging veteran Republican Senator Clark Bradley in the huge Santa Clara-Alameda County 14th District. Rutherford, who has attacked Bradley's voting record on environmental legislation, has found new Republican support which became more vocal in the wake of the Senator's dissenting vote against the Governor's tax package. Bradley, who was first elected to office in San Jose in 1938, has the strong backing of the local press.

State Senator George Moscone of San Francisco, the Democratic floor leader, should easily dispose of Republican Tom Spinosa.

## Assembly

In the 4th District, Democratic Assemblyman John Dunlap of Napa will have to run hard to beat Fairfield investor Robert Thierry, a Republican, but he should be reelected in the 62 percent Democratic district. John Vascancellos, incumbent Democrat in the 24th Assembly District, currently has only a 56 percent registration edge to carry into his contest with volatile Virginia Shaffer, a conservative San Jose councilwoman. He should win a close race.



Two active members of the Assembly Education Committee, Republican James Dent of the 10th District in Eastern Contra Costa County and Democrat Leo Ryan of the 27th District in Northern San Mateo County also face strong opposition. Engineer William Dickinson is running against the favored Dent for the second time. Ryan, unopposed in 1968, faces a surprising challenge from Republican attorney John Sherman.

Local Government Committee Chairman John Knox of Richmond, whose 11th District in West Contra Costa County is undergoing increasing racial polarization, will have his hands full with Richmond School Board President Goy Fuller, a Republican.

Newly nominated Republicans Dixon Arnett, a Redwood City Councilman, and Richard Hayden, a Sunnyvale City Councilman, should have no trouble winning their first general election contests. Arnett replaces Britschgi in Southern San Mateo and Hayden will take over for retiring Assemblyman George Milias.

Democratic Assembly incumbents Willie Brown, John Burton, John Foran, and Leo McCarthy of San Francisco are all safe bets for reelection. In the East Bay, Assembly incumbents Robert Crown, John Miller, March Fong, and Carlos Bee — all Democrats — are expected to be reelected.

Revenue and Taxation Committee Chairman William T. Bagley of San Rafael is secure in his 7th District seat.



Northern Alameda County includes all of the cities of Alameda, Albany, Berkeley, Emeryville, Fremont, Oakland, Piedmont, San Leandro and San Lorenzo. It is twice as populous as most Senate seats, containing almost 450,000 registered voters. There is a significant black population and a heterogeneous mixture of ethnic groups within its boundaries.

#### Registration

|               | Dem.  | Rep.  |
|---------------|-------|-------|
| November 1968 | 61.4% | 32.1% |
| June 1970     | 63.7% | 30.9% |
| November 1970 | 64.2% | 29.6% |

#### Past Election Results

|                   | Dem.    | Rep.    |
|-------------------|---------|---------|
| President 1968    | 191,520 | 120,889 |
| U.S. Senate 1968  | 203,005 | 125,364 |
| State Senate 1966 | 159,968 | 160,769 |
| Governor 1966     | 172,688 | 158,982 |

#### Candidates

Lewis F. Sherman, Republican of Berkeley, a 53 year-old attorney, is seeking reelection to a second term in the Senate. He defeated a veteran Assemblyman in a major upset in 1966. He is Chairman of the Senate Committee on Government Organization.

John W. Holmdahl, Democrat of Oakland, a 46 year-old attorney, hopes to return to the State Senate where he served from 1958 until his retirement in 1966. The former Oakland City Councilman served as Chairman of the Labor and Public Utilities Committees during his last term in the Senate.

#### Outlook

Sherman has made many friends in Sacramento during his four years in the State Senate. He will not lack for money or endorsements. American's for Democratic Action and Labor's political arm, C.O.P.E., have backed the Senator against his Democratic foe in a rare show of personal respect in a crucial pre-reapportionment election. Holmdahl has a tremendous registration advantage resulting from the active Meade and Dellums campaigns. His financial resources are limited, however, and he has thus far failed to raise sufficient funds to campaign competitively in the state's most populous district. **LEANING TO SHERMAN.**



Nestled against the Contra Costa County line in the Berkeley Hills, the 16th District has long been the suburban Republican stronghold in Alameda County. The communities of Berkeley and Piedmont and part of downtown Oakland are within its boundaries. The district contains the University community, a substantial number of upper-income residents, and a smattering of blacks and blue collar whites.

#### Registration

|               | Dem.  | Rep.  |
|---------------|-------|-------|
| November 1968 | 50.0% | 42.2% |
| June 1970     | 54.5% | 39.3% |
| November 1970 | 55.6% | 36.8% |

#### Past Election Results

|                  | Dem.   | Rep.   |
|------------------|--------|--------|
| President 1968   | 37,462 | 33,624 |
| U.S. Senate 1968 | 43,513 | 30,624 |
| Assembly 1968    | 34,432 | 43,356 |
| Governor 1966    | 30,423 | 40,782 |

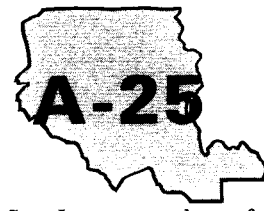
#### Candidates

Don Mulford, Republican of Piedmont, a 55-year-old insurance broker, has served in the Assembly since 1957. A UC Berkeley graduate, he is chairman of the Assembly's Republican Caucus.

Ken Meade, Democrat of Oakland, an attorney, is running against the incumbent for the second time. He also attended the University of California where he was a football letterman and honor society member.

#### Outlook

In the middle of a tight campaign, the incumbent was hurt by the allegation that he was given a sweetened retirement package by his colleagues as a hedge against defeat. Meade is concentrating more attention on lower- and middle-income white than he did in 1968. Negro registration has picked up coincident with the campaign for Congress of Ron Dellums, a black Berkeley city councilman, and 2100 Peace and Freedom Party registrants in the district represent a key block of votes. However, the Republicans may attempt to tie the new left leader Dellums to Meade so as to destroy the young attorney's credibility in some white areas. The racial issue is a two edged sword for Meade. **LEANING TO MEADE.**



East San Jose, an enclave of middle and lower middle income whites comprises the bulk of the population of this Santa Clara County district. Two small municipalities, Milpitas, heavily populated by employees of Ford Motor Company and General Motors, and Morgan Hill, one of the area's last agricultural centers, are also in the district. It is estimated that 20 percent of the residents are Mexican-American.

#### Registration

|               | Dem.  | Rep.  |
|---------------|-------|-------|
| November 1968 | 59.9% | 35.2% |
| June 1970     | 59.4% | 35.7% |
| November 1970 | 60.1% | 33.3% |

#### Past Election Results

|                  | Dem.   | Rep.   |
|------------------|--------|--------|
| President 1968   | 61,033 | 45,676 |
| U.S. Senate 1968 | 72,251 | 37,167 |
| Assembly 1968    | 52,612 | 54,829 |
| Governor 1966    | 41,174 | 44,438 |

#### Candidates

Earle Crandall, Republican of San Jose, a 66-year-old former San Jose school superintendent, was elected to the Assembly in 1966 in a major upset. He won reelection by 2,200 votes in a hard fought campaign in 1968. Crandall is Chairman of the Assembly Education Subcommittee on Organization and Administration.

Alister McAlister, Democrat of San Jose, a 40-year-old attorney, is a member of the East Side Union High School board, former President of the County Confederation of Homeowners Associations and a member of the County Medical Health Association.

#### Outlook

Crandall won the endorsement of the Mexican-American Political Association, bitter over their candidate's loss in the Democratic primary. Ernest Abeytia, lost by 150 votes to Democrat McAlister. Crandall, whose margin of victory slipped substantially in the last election, might be strengthened by the endorsement. However, McAlister, running as a moderate, hopes to recapture Democratic votes driven away by more liberal Assembly candidates in past elections. Labor, traditionally a strong force in the area, has not rallied behind McAlister; lack of money has been a problem for the attorney. Crandall has a blank check from the GOP leadership. **LEANS TO CRANDALL.**

## No Key Switches Are Expected in Northern Calif.

### State Senate

The contest for the massive second Senate District seat in the Northern Sacramento Valley, once considered a key one by Democrats hopeful of regaining a majority in the upper house, appears to have become a "low priority" campaign for both parties. Incumbent Republican State Senator Fred W. Marler of Redding is considered a solid favorite over Melvyn Lucas, a West Sacramento businessman.

### Assembly

In the Second Assembly District, which includes northern Sonoma, Mendocino and southern Humboldt Counties, veteran Republican Assemblyman Frank Belotti of Eureka has encountered a tough opponent in youthful Santa Rosa attorney Barry Keene. The 72-year-old incumbent has served in the Assembly for 20 years, and now ranks fourth in seniority among his 80 colleagues. Keene, pointing to his own experience as a deputy district attorney and as a legislative consultant, is expected to make inroads in the southern section of the district. This appears to have the Republicans concerned, but Belotti is favored to win again.

Another legislative veteran, Democrat Pauline Davis of Portola, is heavily favored to retain her 10-county First District Assembly seat. Her opponent is Clifford Hord of Redding. Eugene Chappie of Cool and Ray Johnson of Chico, both incumbent Republicans completing their third terms in the Assembly, are also confident of reelection. Democrat Ronald Kennedy of Penryn, "California's Angriest Taxpayer," will attempt to use Chappie's authorship of a bill limiting fishing rights against his seemingly invulnerable opponent in the Sierra district. John McMurdie of Davis, a soil scientist and computer programmer, is facing Johnson for the third time.

## 3 Valley Districts in Doubt

### State Senate

The Kings-Kern County 18th Senate District is the scene of a bitter partisan clash between Democratic senior Senator Walter Stiern, and Republican Bill Park (see next page for detailed analysis). Two other contests for State Senate in the San Joaquin Valley are only slightly less competitive.

Senator Alan Short of Stockton, a member of the Legislature since 1954, faces a stiff challenge from Republican Mel Riddle, a public affairs consultant and a former aide to Republican Speaker Bob Monagan and Governor Goodwin Knight. Active in numerous GOP campaigns, Riddle is expected to force Short to extend himself in this marginal district, which includes most of rural southern and eastern Sacramento County as well as San Joaquin County.

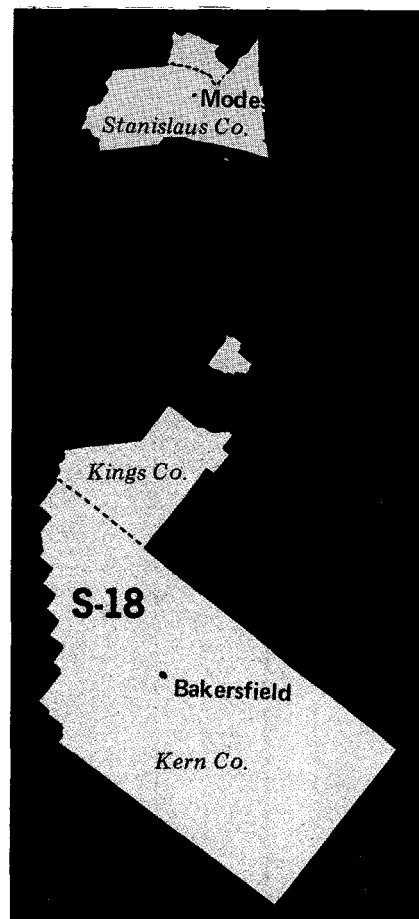
In Fresno County, Assembly Democratic Caucus Chairman George Zenovich is attempting to replace the retiring Hugh M. Burns in the 16th Senate District seat. Wealthy Clovis food processor Earl Smittcamp is putting up a tough challenge. Democrats appear confident, however, that registration gains have given Zenovich a solid edge.

### Assembly

The fight to succeed Zenovich in the 32nd District, which encompasses the city of Fresno, and a replay of the "cliff hanger" special election between Republican Assemblyman Clare Berryhill and Democratic attorney Ernest La Coste in Modesto may decide the control of the State Assembly (see next page for detailed analysis). The Central Valley will also be the scene of several closely contested Assembly campaigns with upset potential.

A Democratic registration gain between 1968 and 1970 of 2.5 percent (57.1 to 59.6 percent) in the 28th Assembly District, currently the bailiwick of Republican Kent Stacey, has caused Democratic pulses to quicken. Bakersfield City Councilman Robert Whittemore will carry the party colors, but on a limited budget, and Stacey, who received over 60 percent of the vote in 1968, is still the favorite.

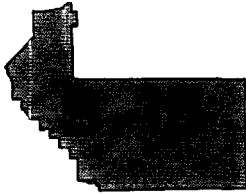
In Sacramento County's 3rd District, Democratic Assemblyman Leroy Greene is reportedly the target of the GOP's Cal-Plan. Hard-driving Maynard



Nelson, his unsuccessful Republican foe in 1968, is once again working for an upset. Greene is running an independent effort and is still in the lead.

Democrats Edwin Z'berg and Walter Powers have more than token opposition in the general election as well, but a good registration effort by Sacramento Democrats appears to have fortified the two incumbents against challengers Glenn Pahlman in the 9th District and Bruce Werlhof in the 8th.

Other Republican incumbents throughout the Central Valley appear to be home free. Assemblymen Monagan of Tracy, Ketchum of Paso Robles, Murphy of Santa Cruz, Wood of Monterey, and Mobley of Sanger are all safe. So, too, is Health and Welfare Committee Chairman Gordon Duffy of Hanford, even though his opponent, farmer Tilford Cheney, has found some degree of acceptance among voters who believe the incumbent has neglected the agricultural needs of the Kings and Tulare County District.



Kern and Kings Counties, basically rural in nature, make up this southernmost San Joaquin Valley district. The Bakersfield metropolitan area is the largest community in the area. Other significant towns include Hanford, Delano, Mojave, Ridgecrest and Boron. The population is largely white, middle-class, and Protestant. Many are of mid-western and southern origins.

| Registration   | Dem.  | Rep.  |
|----------------|-------|-------|
| November 1968  | 59.1% | 36.4% |
| June 1970      | 58.5% | 37.5% |
| November 1970* | 58.8% | 37.1% |

\*—Based on November (Kern) and June (Kings) figures.

#### Past Election Results

|                   | Dem.   | Rep.   |
|-------------------|--------|--------|
| President 1968    | 57,927 | 61,786 |
| U.S. Senate 1968  | 61,028 | 64,711 |
| State Senate 1966 | 70,419 | 46,677 |
| Governor 1966     | 46,433 | 74,673 |

#### Candidates

Walter W. Stiern, Democrat of Bakersfield, a 56-year-old veterinarian, is chairman of the Senate Revenue and Taxation Committee and a member of the key Finance Committee. First elected in 1968, the senator seeks a fourth term in the upper house. He now ranks 9th in seniority.

Bill Park, Republican of Bakersfield, a 44-year-old former administrative assistant to GOP Congressman Bob Mathias, is challenging the veteran incumbent. A former Bakersfield city councilman, Park is a geologist by profession and also has a farm background.

#### Outlook

The district is increasingly conservative and highly sensitive to appeals based around the "law and order" theme. Park's well-organized and financed campaign, run by Spencer-Roberts and the GOP State Central Committee, and his own personal appeal will put him in position to be carried into office by a Reagan landslide should Jess Unruh's campaign fail to move his fellow south-westerners in the district. Stiern remains a strong vote getter, however, even without the increase in Democratic registration he had hoped to receive. **LEANING TO STIERN.**



Rural Southern San Joaquin County, including the towns of Manteca, Escalon, and Ripon and all of Stanislaus County, make up this central valley district. Modesto, Ceres, and Turlock are the major communities in Stanislaus County. Farming and agriculturally related business dominate the districts' economy. Rural and small town voters predominate.

| Registration  | Dem.  | Rep.  |
|---------------|-------|-------|
| November 1968 | 60.0% | 36.7% |
| June 1970     | 59.7% | 37.1% |
| November 1970 | 61.6% | 35.0% |

#### Past Election Results

|                  | Dem.   | Rep.   |
|------------------|--------|--------|
| President 1968   | 39,950 | 36,131 |
| U.S. Senate 1968 | 44,251 | 31,756 |
| *Assembly 1969   | 30,012 | 30,062 |
| Governor 1966    | 32,755 | 40,614 |

\*special election

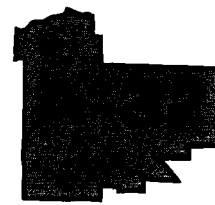
#### Candidates

Clare L. Berryhill, Republican of Ceres, a 45-year-old grape grower, was elected to the Assembly in a special election held in May, 1969 to fill the seat formerly occupied by Undersecretary of HEW John Veneman. Berryhill is Vice-Chairman of the Committee on Agriculture and Chairman of the Housing and Urban Affairs Subcommittee on Housing Finance.

Ernest LaCoste, Democrat of Modesto, a 45-year-old attorney and farmer, lost to the incumbent by 50 votes in 1969. A former Chief Deputy District Attorney, he is currently president of the Stanislaus County Board of Education and a member of a Selective Service Board.

#### Outlook

Republicans believe that Berryhill has solidified his hold on this rural district, having patched up the party division which resulted from the three-way GOP primary in 1969. The Assembly majority caucus has helped him immeasurably in the year he has held office. La Coste has gained at least enough in registration to make up for the slim defeat he absorbed in 1969, but he will have fewer dollars and less campaign expertise on his side this year. **LEANING TO BERRYHILL.**



This Central Valley district covers Fresno and its close-in suburbs, making it typical of an urban Democratic district. Black and Mexican-American minorities comprise significant elements in the voter population, but the balance of power belongs to the middle-class homeowners.

#### Registration

|               | Dem.  | Rep.  |
|---------------|-------|-------|
| November 1968 | 63.6% | 31.4% |
| June 1970     | 63.6% | 32.0% |
| November 1970 | 65.1% | 30.7% |

#### Past Election Results

|                  | Dem.   | Rep.   |
|------------------|--------|--------|
| President 1968   | 40,304 | 32,176 |
| U.S. Senate 1968 | 42,659 | 33,099 |
| Assembly 1968    | 54,405 | 21,499 |
| Governor 1966    | 37,253 | 36,982 |

#### Candidates

P. J. "Pat" Camaroda, Democrat of Fresno, a 62-year-old owner of a local printing firm, survived a wide-open primary to gain nomination to the Assembly seat being vacated by George Zenovich. Elected to the city council in 1965 by the largest vote total in the history of the city, Camaroda has developed a rather conservative voting record in his five years of service.

Kenneth Maddy, Republican of Fresno and an attorney, also won a difficult primary with votes to spare. He has chaired the local Urban Coalition and the Concentrated Employment Project. As a leading civic activist, he projects a moderate to liberal image.

#### Outlook

Republican leaders are optimistic about Maddy's chances to win an upset victory. Some sources of community support, normally available only to Democratic liberals, may swing to Maddy, or perhaps to a write-in candidate from among the disgruntled losers of the Democratic primary. The position of the *Fresno Bee* remains unclear, but with a large registration edge in his behalf, Camaroda yet may back into a victory. The Democratic party is rallying around their candidate. If the rank and file join in, the district will remain in their hands. **LEANING TO CAMARODA.**

# Six Heated Southern California Races

## State Senate

Two incumbent State Senators seeking reelection to a second term in the upper house, Democrat James Mills of San Diego and Republican William Coombs of Rialto, are top targets of the opposition in their marginal districts (See page 260). While no other Southern California Senators are similarly threatened, three other districts could provide upsets.

Senator Tom Carrell of San Fernando has met tough opposition from Republican George O'Nan, a former Los Angeles City policeman who became familiar with Sacramento as a lobbyist for various police associations. Carrell's health remains a major question in the campaign. A strong victory by Governor Reagan in the Valley area might provide O'Nan with the boost he needs to upset the veteran legislative incumbent in the closely balanced 22nd District.

Former San Gabriel City Councilman Richard Nichols is giving Democratic State Senator Al Song the toughest partisan challenge Song has ever had to contend with in the 28th District. The district stretches from East Los Angeles to Azusa in the San Gabriel Valley. Song, running on a

record as a consumer spokesman, is attempting to re-establish a political organization in the area. Unless the statewide Republican slate sweeps the district, Song seems likely to gain reelection.

Democrats expect that their incumbent Senators Anthony Beilenson of Beverly Hills, Ralph Dills of San Pedro and Lawrence Walsh of Huntington Park will be reelected easily. Dills is encountering spirited opposition, however, from Long Beach College professor Mike Halliwell, a self-styled "Lindsay Republican" who is attempting to woo blacks and blue collar Democrats alike.

Newly elected Republican State Senator Dennis Carpenter of Newport Beach should win in a walk with Orange County's 34th District. Republican Gordon Cologne, Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman, has no opponent in the 36th District in Riverside County. Two other Republican Senators mentioned as potential challengers to President pro Tempore Jack Schrade's leadership position, Clair Burgener of San Diego and Robert Lagomarsino of Ojai, are equally secure.

Two of the Republicans, William Campbell of Hacienda Heights and Floyd Wakefield of South Gate are favored to win third terms. However, labor groups have been working overtime to aid challengers Joseph Montoya in the 50th District (against Campbell) and Martin Jackson in the 52nd District (against Wakefield). Both challengers have made progress, and Jackson, a former Huntington Park city councilman, seems to be within striking distance of Wakefield.

Henry Arklin of Pacoima, completing his first term in the Assembly, seems to have strengthened himself in the 41st District in the San Fernando Valley. Unless Republican strategists become so confident of an Arklin victory that they neglect this race, he should readily defeat Democrat Jim Keysor, a businessman and civic activist.

The three Democratic districts which are in danger have been Republican targets in the last two elections. Governor Reagan easily carried Walter Karabian's 45th District, Harvey Johnson's 58th District and Larry Townsend's 67th District in 1966, and Republicans are hoping for a strong coattail effect in the Governor's second statewide campaign to finally topple the incumbents.

## Assembly Races

As in the case of the Senate races, not one urban Los Angeles Assembly district is considered to be closely contested. Several races in Ventura, Riverside, Orange and San Diego Counties are about even at this point, however, and an incumbent is almost certain to fall in at least one of them (See pages 260 and 261).

Unlike the urban areas, there are six Los Angeles suburban districts which are considered to be far from safe for the incumbents. All are located in territory once thought to be safely Democratic, but recent registration figures have shown a steadily shrinking margin for the Democratic party, and three of the seats are held by Republican incumbents who won uphill victories in 1966 and 1968.

On paper, Johnson appears to be the most vulnerable. He is the only Democrat to win in the territory encompassed by his East San Gabriel Valley district in the last two general elections. Norman Turnette, the architect of the last two Republican Assembly campaigns in the district, is his opponent. In the 45th District, Karabian won by 1,300 votes in 1966 and only 600 in 1968. Although Senator Cranston and presidential candidate Humphrey were both victorious in the area in 1968, Karabian may be in trouble against Don Decker, a zealous opponent who is conducting a thorough door-to-door effort. In the 67th District, Townsend should win a close race from Fred Fredericks, a Torrance realtor whom he defeated by 6,000 votes in 1968.

## CORRECTIONS

Page 226, Col. 1 — AB 1511 relating to parole procedures *was* heard in the Senate Judiciary Committee, and was scheduled to be heard again. It was at the second hearing that the bill was not taken up by the author.

Page 228, Col. 2 — SB 525 relating to 18 to 21-year-old petition signature solicitors did not fail. It was signed by the Governor on July 13th.

Page 229, Col. 1 — AB 1446 relating to coastal shoreline was authored by Assemblyman Dunlap, not McCarthy.

Page 229, Col. 2 — AB 1 would reduce the sales tax on automobiles burning natural fuel, not the gas tax.

### Secure Seats

Santa Barbarans expect W. Don MacGillivray to win reelection to the 36th District seat he won from former Assemblyman Win Shoemaker in 1968. Ken Palmer, a public relations consultant, has run a strong grass roots campaign against the former city mayor, however, and MacGillivray cannot expect a wide margin of victory.

There will be two new faces in the Los Angeles County Assembly delegation: one from the Inglewood district being vacated by Jess Unruh, and the other from the West San Fernando Valley territory formerly represented by the late Patrick McGee. David Pierson, an Inglewood attorney and city councilman active in the League of California Cities is expected to succeed Unruh in the 65th District. In the other district Republican Robert C. Cline, a Canoga Park financial consultant and Los Angeles Junior College board member, is favored over Democrat Fred Ball, despite the latter's endorsement.

Assembly Democrats Carley Porter of Compton, Alex Garcia of Los Angeles, Bob Moretti of North Hollywood, Mike Cullen of Long Beach, David Roberti of Los Angeles, Jack Fenton of Montebello, Bille Greene of Los Angeles, Charles Warren of Los Angeles, Alan Sieroty of Beverly Hills, Yvonne Brathwaite of Los Angeles, Joe Gonsalves of La Mirada, and Vincent Thomas of San Pedro, are all favored to win handily. Cullen and Gonsalves, who represent "swing" districts (57 percent Democratic), seem to have found the key to Democratic loyalty. Leon Ralph of Los Angeles has no opponent.

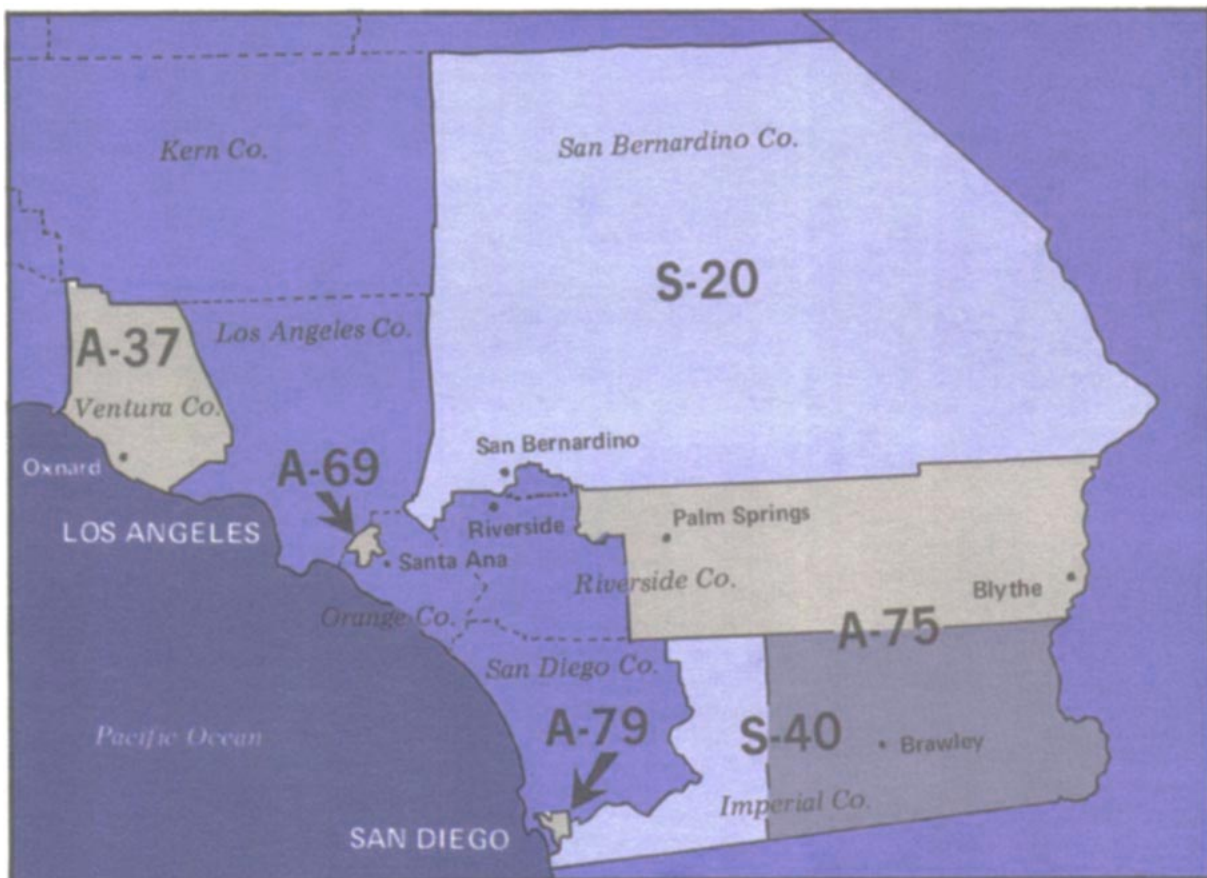
Los Angeles County Republican Assemblymen James Hayes of Long Beach, Carlos Moorhead of Glendale, Robert Beverly of Redondo Beach, Frank Lanterman of Pasadena, Peter Schabarum of Covina, John L.E. "Bud" Collier of Arcadia, Charles Conrad of Sherman Oaks, Paul Priolo of Santa Monica, and Newton Russell of Burbank, could not lose under almost any circumstances.

The three Republicans representing Orange County in the Assembly, Robert Burke of Huntington Beach, Robert Badham of Newport Beach, and John Briggs of Fullerton, have only token Democratic opposition.

In San Bernardino County's 72nd District, Democrat John Quimby should defeat Peter Neigel, his Republican opponent, and Republican Jerry Lewis will have no trouble topping Edison McDaniels in the 73rd District seat.

Riverside Republican Floor Leader Craig Biddle and San Diego County Republican incumbents Pete Wilson, Richard Barnes, and John Stull, are solid, as is Wadie Deddeh, a Democrat.

The new registration figures for Stanislaus County included some unusual party designations: 1 Liberty, 24 Prohibitionist, 4 Socialist, 2 Independent Progressive, 5 Socialist Workers, 1 Peoples' Peace and Prosperity, and 379 Straight Independents.





Except for Redlands, Loma Linda, and Yucaipa, all of San Bernardino County is included in this district. The major population center located around San Bernardino, Colton, Ontario, Chino, Upland and Cucamonga dominates its politics. Trona, Needles, Barstow, Twenty-Nine Palms, and Victorville are regional centers in rural parts of the territory. A heterogeneous group of voters inhabit the area.

| Registration  | Dem.  | Rep.  |
|---------------|-------|-------|
| November 1968 | 56.1% | 39.2% |
| June 1970     | 55.6% | 39.9% |
| November 1970 | 56.0% | 39.2% |

| Past Election Results | Dem.   | Rep.   |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|
| President 1968        | 73,236 | 81,634 |
| U.S. Senate 1968      | 83,916 | 84,101 |
| State Senate 1966     | 74,376 | 75,605 |
| Governor 1966         | 63,151 | 96,997 |

#### Candidates

William Coombs, Republican of Rialto, an attorney and C.P.A., is completing his first term in the Senate. He chairs the Committee on Water Resources and serves on the Finance and Revenue and Taxation Committees. A former Rialto city councilman, he was a city planning commissioner and a member of the Regional Economic Development Council.

Nancy Smith, Democrat of San Bernardino, has been a member of the County Board of Supervisors for 14 years. She served on the Santa Ana Regional Water Quality Control Board, was a member of the U.S. Public Land Law Review Commission and acted as president of the Southern Section of the County Supervisors Association.

#### Outlook

Mrs. Smith is running for the Senate in the same nonpartisan manner that brought her success in four campaigns for the Board of Supervisors. Coombs is banking upon his Populist-Conservative record and service to the district. He benefits from a full complement of Republican Party assistance in the marginal district. Mrs. Smith has generated no ground swell of anti-Coombs feeling to augment her own popular appeal. **LEANING TO COOMBS.**



Agriculturally oriented Imperial County, desert eastern San Diego County (including Anza Borrego Desert State Park), southern San Diego County along the Mexican border, and parts of urban downtown San Diego city are included in this wide ranging district. Diverse in scenery and in population, such municipalities as National City, Chula Vista, San Ysidro, Brawley, and El Centro are combined with the racial and ethnic mixture of urban San Diego.

| Registration  | Dem.  | Rep.  |
|---------------|-------|-------|
| November 1968 | 59.8% | 34.5% |
| June 1970     | 59.8% | 34.7% |
| November 1970 | 60.3% | 33.8% |

| Past Election Results | Dem.   | Rep.   |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|
| President 1968        | 54,587 | 50,288 |
| U.S. Senate 1968      | 58,028 | 54,346 |
| State Senate 1966     | 63,713 | 39,135 |
| Governor 1966         | 48,557 | 57,219 |

#### Candidates

James R. Mills, Democrat of San Diego, a 42-year-old former historian, served three terms in the Assembly before his election to the Senate in 1966. He is currently chairman of the Senate Democratic Caucus, a post he held in the Assembly. A leader in the field of transportation legislation, Mills also served as vice-chairman of the Water Resources Committee.

Henry Boney, Republican of Bonita and a millionaire retired grocery chain owner, has served as a member of the San Diego Board of Supervisors since 1964. He has served on the Board of Directors of the State Supervisors Association and was President of the San Diego Boy Scout Council and Lt. Governor of Kiwanis International.

#### Outlook

Boney and Mills are conducting a hard-hitting issue oriented campaign. The challenger has the funds to establish a strong favorable image in the minds of the voters. The incumbent will hammer away in areas of strength hoping to get his 35,000 vote Democratic margin in San Diego County to the polls. Boney is looking for a Reagan landslide. **LEANING TO MILLS.**



A rapid cycle of growth has kept the composition of Ventura's population in flux. Along with Ventura and Oxnard — and several valley towns — Ojai, Santa Paula and Camarillo — large housing tracts in the area of Simi Valley and Thousand Oaks have developed as a key source of political power.

| Registration  | Dem.  | Rep.  |
|---------------|-------|-------|
| November 1968 | 52.7% | 43.3% |
| June 1970     | 51.2% | 44.8% |
| November 1970 | 51.2% | 44.6% |

| Past Election Results | Dem.   | Rep.   |
|-----------------------|--------|--------|
| President 1968        | 47,794 | 59,705 |
| U.S. Senate 1968      | 56,170 | 57,171 |
| Assembly 1968         | 53,760 | 51,640 |
| Governor 1966         | 37,224 | 58,068 |

#### Candidates

Ken MacDonald, Democrat of Ojai and a businessman, seeks a third term in the State Assembly. He served six years on the Ventura County Board of Supervisors before his election in 1966. A vice chairman of the Assembly Committee on Health and Welfare, he is also an active member of the Committee on Local Government.

Randolph Siple, Republican of Ventura, a 37-year-old attorney, is challenging the incumbent for the second time. Formerly chief trial deputy for the Ventura District Attorney, he has been in private or public practice since 1962. He has served as a member of the board of the Ventura Drug Abuse Prevention Society.

#### Outlook

Siple is perhaps the GOP's number-one hope. He has money and seems to be spending it wisely. The Assembly Democratic Caucus is working frantically to help the incumbent overcome the low registration figure, hoping that MacDonald's nonpartisan approach has won him some loyal supporters. Siple appears very strong. Democrats hope Jacob Spatz, who has run for the Assembly twice as a Republican and is a candidate of the American Independent Party this November, might cut into Siple's vote. **LEANING TO SIPLE.**



The Orange County communities of Cypress, Dairyland, and Buena Park along the Los Angeles County line and the central county communities of Stanton, Garden Grove, Anaheim, and Westminster are the key towns in this district. Lying essentially between the Santa Ana and the Garden Grove Freeways and bisected by Beach Boulevard, the area is covered by tract developments inhabited by middle and lower-middle income whites.

#### Registration

|               | <i>Dem.</i> | <i>Rep.</i> |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| November 1968 | 50.6%       | 43.7%       |
| June 1970     | 49.9%       | 44.7%       |
| November 1970 | 51.1%       | 43.5%       |

#### Past Election Results

|                  | <i>Dem.</i> | <i>Rep.</i> |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|
| President 1968   | 40,955      | 65,186      |
| U.S. Senate 1968 | 48,657      | 65,113      |
| Assembly 1968    | 57,260      | 55,695      |
| Governor 1966    | 29,522      | 63,247      |

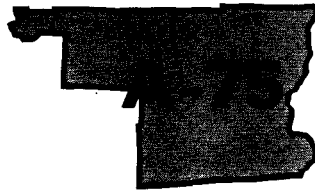
#### Candidates

Kenneth Cory, Democrat of Garden Grove, a 33-year-old businessman, is completing his second term in Sacramento. Cory served as Chief Administrative Office of the Assembly and as consultant to its Committee on Education. He currently chairs the Education Committee's Subcommittee on School Finance.

Bruce Nestande, Republican of Anaheim, a 32-year-old director of Independence Hall, which is affiliated with Knott's Berry Farm, is contesting the 69th district for the second time. He is a member of the Orange Chamber of Commerce, the Anaheim High School drug council, and the Advisory Council for Vocational Education.

#### Outlook

Republicans are optimistic about beating Cory despite the Democrats' slight registration gain. They expect Reagan to sweep the 69th district and to carry Nestande with him. Both candidates will conduct strong precinct-oriented efforts. Nestande has already mailed three pieces of campaign literature attacking the incumbent's record. The total campaign outlay by the two candidates may reach \$200,000. At this point they appear EVEN.



This seat serves the southeastern corner of California, including all of Imperial County and eastern Riverside County. Beaumont, Banning, Palm Springs, Indio, Coachella and Blythe are the key Riverside communities. Brawley, El Centro and Calexico are the larger Imperial County towns. A Mexican-American population is scattered throughout the area. The district has been represented by Republican Victor Veysey who is running for Congress.

#### Registration

|               | <i>Dem.</i> | <i>Rep.</i> |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| November 1968 | 52.4%       | 43.8%       |
| June 1970     | 51.5%       | 44.2%       |
| November 1970 | 52.5%       | 43.3%       |

#### Past Election Results

|                  | <i>Dem.</i> | <i>Rep.</i> |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|
| President 1968   | 24,733      | 34,132      |
| U.S. Senate 1968 | 28,790      | 34,407      |
| Assembly 1968    | 19,357      | 45,668      |
| Governor 1966    | 21,654      | 37,083      |

#### Candidates

Raymond Seeley, Republican of Blythe, is Chairman of the Riverside County Board of Supervisors. He has served as a director of the state's County Supervisors Association, and as a representative to the Southern California Association of Governments. He is a rancher and savings and loan director.

Susan Marx, Democrat of Cathedral City, has been elected to the Palm Springs Unified School Board three times. The widow of the late Harpo Marx, she is a director of the Cathedral City Chamber of Commerce, vice president of the County School Boards Association and a member of a county advisory planning board.

#### Outlook

Voters in this desert land are notoriously independent. Susan Marx has run a non-partisan campaign capitalizing on her community ties in the more populous western part of Riverside County. Seeley, who appeared to be a good bet for victory initially, hopes that he will not suffer from the side affects of a bribery scandal involving another supervisor. Imperial County residents will probably decide which Riverside County candidate will win. LEANING TO SEELEY.



Downtown San Diego, including significant concentrations of blacks (an estimated 27 percent of the district) and Mexican-Americans, is the location of this district. Much of the harbor and two of the area's military installations are included within the boundaries, which restrict it to territory north of National City, west of La Mesa and south of El Cajon.

#### Registration

|               | <i>Dem.</i> | <i>Rep.</i> |
|---------------|-------------|-------------|
| November 1968 | 61.1%       | 32.8%       |
| June 1970     | 61.8%       | 32.8%       |
| November 1970 | 62.6%       | 31.3%       |

#### Past Election Results

|                  | <i>Dem.</i> | <i>Rep.</i> |
|------------------|-------------|-------------|
| President 1968   | 33,825      | 25,359      |
| U.S. Senate 1968 | 35,339      | 26,684      |
| Assembly 1968    | 30,482      | 32,781      |
| Governor 1966    | 29,104      | 21,776      |

#### Candidates

Tom Hom, Republican of San Diego, is seeking reelection after completing his first term. The 42-year-old former city councilman won an upset victory in 1968. In Sacramento he served as Vice-Chairman of the Local Government Committee and was appointed a member of the California Commission on Aging.

Peter Chacon, Democrat of San Diego, a school administrator, won a bitter primary fight by conducting a strong precinct effort. He has been deeply involved in the causes of the Mexican-Americans in the district.

#### Outlook

The heavy Democratic registration makes Hom appear extremely vulnerable. He has worked hard during his two-year incumbency, however, and he is running a well-organized, party-financed campaign. Hom has been careful to maintain an appearance of independence within the Republican Party, particularly in relation with the Governor. Chacon, a hard worker, is faced with a fragmented party structure. If he is able to develop better communication with the blacks in Logan Heights and forge an alliance with Senator Mills and Congressman Van Deerlin, he has an excellent chance to win. LEANING TO HOM.



# Lobbyist Campaign Contributions

The ambivalent love-hate relationship that lobbyists and legislators have with each other is one of the more curious phenomena in legislative politics. This is probably related to the fact that lobbyists and legislators alike are often held in low esteem by the general public.

On the one hand continued proximity and lack of public understanding of their mutual craft tends to drive them together for mutual appreciation. Examples of this affinity are to be found in social institutions such as the Derby Club, the much-discussed "old guard" approach to operation of the Senate, and several long standing individual friendships that transcend politics and interests. On the other hand, each member of these two groups is aware of the need to defend his relationship with the other before his own constituents, who are likely to share all the popular prejudices about both groups.

Members of interest groups are often inclined to regard legislators as venal politicians, just as voters tend to view lobbyists as a corruptive influence upon legislators. The members of each group must portray their dealings with those of the other in a sympathetic light, and yet take care not to give their own constituencies the notion that they have been co-opted. In short, each group feels a legitimate working dependence upon the other, and yet must be careful not to show it.

Campaign contributions are one of the most sensitive subjects in this relationship. Almost any comprehensive campaign to reach the voters requires financial and other assistance from third house sources. However, publicizing an opponent's dependence upon campaign assistance from lobbyists is a time-honored method of political attack.

### Types of Contributions

Money is by no means the only form that such assistance takes. Organizations controlling or claiming to control a portion of the electorate (such as civic and good government groups) frequently make no financial contributions at all, and content themselves with informing their members of their preference for individual legislators through a house organ, newsletter or other free publicity. Other groups (such as students) may concentrate on providing volunteer campaign manpower.

Financial contributions are most common partly because they require less effort of the donor, and because they give maximum flexibility to the recipient in the allocation of campaign resources. Nevertheless, non-monetary assistance can actually be more persuasive, or subject a legislator to greater pressure, than money. A number of the more sophisticated organizations, therefore, follow a pluralistic approach.

In some corporations, campaign funds for state and local elections come directly out of the corporate treasury (a practice forbidden by federal law for federal offices). Others, notably utilities, follow a practice (dating from the 1950's) of establishing "good government clubs" to which management level employees normally contribute a speci-

fied percentage of their salaries. Organizers of such clubs maintain that little or no pressure is placed on employees to contribute, that no records of donors are available to top management, and that the system exists for the convenience of their employees.

Perhaps an even greater number of corporations have no formal clubs, but merely coordinate the individual contributions of management personnel. Likewise, some trade associations and other multi-organization interest groups disburse from the central treasury money originally collected in the form of dues, while others give money collected through local branches, or rely on these branches directly for contributions.

The actual method of giving is also dependent upon the preference of the legislator and the public image of the donor. Some legislators follow their campaign finances closely, while others leave matters entirely in the hands of a committee or finance chairman and wish to know nothing about it. Some kinds of contributions, such as those from corporate personnel and the purchase of tickets to testimonial dinners, are genuinely difficult for either friend or foe to trace, although donors normally make some effort to let the candidate know they have contributed. On the other hand, where publication of the ultimate source will probably not be harmful to the candidate, direct contributions are not uncommon.

Contribution of cash leaves the ethical question of how they are to be reported entirely up to the candidate, as no documentary evidence of the transaction is likely to exist. It is popularly supposed, perhaps not without reason, that some such contributions find their way no farther than the candidates' pockets. However, this is virtually impossible to prove or disprove.

### Distribution of Funds

Not all contributions go directly to individual candidates, of course. Both major parties have their own funds, and while the party faithful are generally looked upon as the major source, third house donors can overlap into this category directly or indirectly. Similarly, the Governor or other high office holders often provide a focal point for fund raising from third house sources for distribution to candidates for statewide and legislative offices.

In recent years, the leadership in each house of the Legislature has operated as collector and dispenser of campaign support, almost all of it derived from third house sources. In the Assembly under Speakers Unruh and Monagan the distribution has generally been partisan; in the Senate under Hugh Burns it was simply, with a few notable exceptions, pro-incumbent.

On a smaller scale, committee chairmen and veteran legislators with safe districts also act as intermediaries in the allocation of funds to their colleagues. Although such systems have the potential disadvantage of obscuring the credit to the original donor, they do offer some relief to the lobbyist from the responsibility of handing out funds

individually. In general, lobbyists give their support to incumbents. A few back all incumbents without exception. Most, however, practice a system of rewards and punishment by the withholding of rewards. Their preference for incumbents is attributable to the fear of having to face the wrath of a reelected incumbent after having backed his challenger, and the safety of the known as opposed to the unknown.

The desire to back a probable winner seems to follow a close second behind the incumbency factor. However, in the case of a legislator who is clearly in real danger of defeat, the average lobbyist will probably forbear giving overt assistance to his opponent, unless the incumbent and the lobbyist have been traditional antagonists. A safer, although potentially embarrassing, course is to offer to assist in meeting any campaign deficit of a successful challenger.

Most lobbyists make a studied attempt at bi-partisanship and in several recent special elections, in which control of either the Assembly or Senate hung in the balance, many could be found with a foot in both camps. The 1966 reapportionment elections in the Senate, pitting senator against senator, found many lobbyists in a similar posture.

The stature and geographical location of a legislator also serve as a guidepost for contributors, particularly as they relate to the specific interests of clients. Some groups make it a practice to give to all members (or at least all those not openly hostile) of the committees which handle major legislation of interest to them. Membership on the Assembly Ways and Means or Senate Finance Committees is reputed to be particularly valuable because of the large number of important bills handled.

The hometown factor is also important. A corporation whose business facilities are largely confined to one county may participate in all the legislative campaigns in the county, even if some of the incumbents have no particular stature in the Legislature. Finally, some legislators get more help than others simply because they ask for it more effectively or persistently, or because of personal friendships with lobbyists that may transcend the direct interest of the lobbyist's client.

### Major Contributors

Who are the big spenders in California politics? On the Sacramento scene, two groups are highly visible: the contract lobbyists, and representatives of the major publicly regulated businesses. The more successful contract lobbyists who serve a number of diverse clients are more dependent than the institutional lobbyists (who serve a single client) upon the successful projection of their own personalities and influence. It may also be that the multiplicity of clients gives them more resources to draw upon.

Among the publicly regulated businesses, the public utilities, financial institutions, and the horseracing, liquor and dairy industries, are particularly prominent. The businesses need legislative support not only to promote their industry interests, but also to protect their segment of the industry from incursions by competitive segments. Other groups, such as labor and education, are also significant, although they customarily emphasize other forms of campaign assistance.

The net effect of third house contributions upon the political process in California is difficult to assess. With

inflation, new campaign techniques, and population growth interacting upon a fixed number of legislative positions, they seem to be required to help underwrite the spiraling campaign costs. There is, however, an increasing suspicion that to some degree, from the standpoint of both the candidates and the lobbyists, these expenditures simply negate each other in much the same way that trading stamps do once all four gas stations on a corner have them.

For all of that, most proposals for reform have an air of unreality about them. The suggested "socialization" of campaigns (the campaign industry truly must be one of the last bastions of free enterprise) by funding them through taxation and prohibiting any additional expenditures not only raises serious questions concerning fair administration by the party in power, but the twin facts that money is only one among many ingredients in a successful campaign and that money liberated from campaign uses might merely find its way into other forms of legislative relations.

### Effect on Legislators

Popular stereotypes aside, what is the true effect of campaign contributions upon legislative performance? Do contributions really buy votes, or create obligations or expectations which make independent voting impossible? There may be some individuals who, according to Jess Unruh's oft-quoted dictum about being able to accept the favors of lobbyists and still vote against them, do not belong in the Legislature. Certainly money is used to influence votes, and yet even the most questionable situations are not often so easily explained.

In this year's celebrated case involving Senator Jack Schrade, a \$5,000 contribution came immediately upon the heels of a "yes" vote in committee, although the next election was three years away. On the other hand, Schrade had previously voted for a similar bill, and had recently been through a close, bitterly-contested and expensive primary and general election against opposition which is likely to try equally hard to unseat him in 1972. There is some irony in the fact that the timing of the contribution cast a cloud over the integrity of Schrade's vote that may cost him more than \$5,000 to overcome when 1972 comes along.

Perhaps the dominant capitol view, as one experienced legislator has observed, is that legislators bring certain views about public policy with them when they come, and their votes tend to reflect those views. To the extent that they then receive campaign contributions for doing so, they are being rewarded for what they would have done anyway. Indeed, to give the story a man-bites-dog twist, it is even possible that when a lobbyist engages in a borderline practice, it may have been because he was under pressure from a legislator to do so. According to lobbyists, it is every bit as important for a lobbyist to learn how to say "no" as it is for a legislator.

What is the correct perspective on the occasional discovery of compromising situations? Are such incidents truly as exceptional as lobbyist and legislators would have us believe, or do they represent the tenth of the iceberg that appears above the surface? The question is, almost by definition unanswerable. Certainly it cannot be resolved merely by a legislative or third house public relations program. Indeed, public mistrust may be so deeply ingrained that it would not respond even to substantive efforts from within the system to provide greater guarantees of its probity.



## Governor Reagan Vetoes 77 Bills

Governor Reagan exercised his veto power to block enactment of 77 bills passed by the 1970 Legislature. Only three of his veto decisions were announced before the Legislature concluded its regular business and adjourned in August. The remaining 74 vetoes were announced during the 30 days between the end of the regular session and the convening of the three-day veto session in September.

Following are the bills discussed in last issue's legislative summary (pp. 223-234) which were vetoed by the Governor.

### Education:

SB 242 (Harmer) called for creation of a special commission to prepare a plan for reorganizing Los Angeles' massive school district into 12 or 24 smaller units, with the plan to be submitted to the Legislature within one year. In vetoing the measure, Reagan said that it might "frustrate what the people of Los Angeles have determined to try as their own effort at decentralization". Five Democratic senators, four from Los Angeles, voted to sustain the Governor's veto when it came to a vote in the veto session (see vote count).

SB 554 (Dymally) removed from the Education Code specific nomination requirements for state college Educational Opportunity Program students, granting the state college trustees authority to set the standards. Reagan said he vetoed this bill because it might lead to the admission of students who are unprepared by conventional measures.

### Drug Abuse

AB 221 by Assemblyman William Campbell would have redefined marijuana as a dangerous drug rather than as a narcotic; it was vetoed by the Governor because it "makes no substantive changes in the law either in penalties or procedures."

AB 1579 by Assemblyman John Vasconcellos would have permitted outpatients from the California Rehabilitation Center and parolees from any penal institution to participate in methadone maintenance research projects. The bill also would have termed such participation as abstention from the use of narcotics which, under existing law, reduces a former addict's term of parole supervision from seven years to two years. In his veto message, Reagan said he favors a methadone program for parolees (now being developed by the Department of Corrections) and that such a program is permissible under present law. He stated that his veto was based on his opposition to reduction of the term of parole for participants in methadone programs because to do so equates a "parolee with continued dependence on a narcotic with a parolee who was able to remain totally drug-free."

### Criminal Justice

A pair of bills by Assemblyman Alan Sieroty would have required the Board of Corrections to establish and enforce minimum standards for local detention facilities (AB 1836) and would have assured persons held in local jails the same rights set forth in the Penal Code for persons in state prisons (AB 1837). In his veto messages, the Governor said

the state could not devote staff and funds to the establishment of statewide prison standards "without more assurance of financing than an authorization to request federal funds." He objected to the second bill because it contained provisions regarding prisoners' mail which he believed to be inconsistent and "impossible to administer."

The Governor also vetoed a bill by Senator Howard Way (SB 1402) which changed the structure of the Adult Authority, because it was "premature" inasmuch as a comprehensive study of the entire correctional system by the Board of Corrections is now underway. A bill (SB 219) by Senator Mervyn Dymally, authorizing the Adult Authority to parole any person after five years in prison, was vetoed because it "permits the release of narcotics offenders after they have served one-third of their mandatory minimum sentence."

### Family Life

Two more of what was originally a seven-bill package concerning population growth introduced by Senator Anthony Bellenson were picked off by the Governor (three failed to pass). Reagan vetoed SB 541, which provided that the state will make available family planning services to all who require them, because, he said, these programs already exist and "there is no need to clutter the statutes with a law that is unnecessary." The other bill (SB 542), which provided that a female minor may consent to hospital and surgical care related to the prevention of pregnancy without the consent of her parents, was declared to be objectionable by the Governor because it involved "matters that should properly be the concerns of the parents of an unmarried minor girl."

### Health and Welfare

The Governor vetoed mandatory immunization against rubella (German measles) as a condition for public school enrollment on the grounds that it posed a "threat of serious polarization of the medical community regarding the use of rubella vaccine in children." The bill (AB 1318, Burgener) was supported by the California Medical Association but, according to Reagan, did not have the "full support of the entire medical community."

### Labor

In one of his most publicized veto actions, the Governor used his powers to reduce from five percent to three percent the special salary increase for the California Highway Patrol provided in AB 1333 by Assemblyman John Foran. The increase was on top of the five percent included in the budget for all state employees. The full five percent represented an expenditure of \$4.18 million, and Reagan said that he cut that to \$2.5 million because "... our tight fiscal situation will not permit the larger increase."

SB 454 by Senator Lagomarsino, which would have increased retirement benefits for state employees by five percent, on top of the annual two percent cost-of-living adjustment, was vetoed because Reagan said that in view of

*(Continued on next page)*

## **Veto Session**

# **Legislature Reconvenes for 3 Dull Days**

In each of the four years that one has been held, the veto session of the Legislature has been a popular target for criticism by the press and legislators alike. This year's session was no exception. Assembly Speaker Bob Monagan, at no loss for descriptive adjectives, called it "a charade, unnecessary, boring, lackluster, pointless".

Despite an unanticipated but fruitless vote by the Senate to override one of the Governor's vetoes, the three-day session did not vary from the pattern started in 1967. It was in that year, following voter approval of a constitutional amendment, that the Legislature was first required to come back one month after adjournment to consider gubernatorial vetoes. Veto overrides are extremely rare in California legislative politics, the last one having occurred 25 years ago during the administration of Earl Warren. It is not surprising, therefore, that several days devoted solely to attempts to muster support for an override constitute a session "opened in apathy and adjourned in boredom".

If the veto session is so unpopular why is it retained? Senator Albert S. Rodda of Sacramento County thinks that is a good question and for the past three years has tried to gain sufficient support for repeal. Each year his efforts have been turned back, largely because no acceptable alternative has been proposed.

### **Political Effect Considered**

Legislators acknowledge that votes during the veto session are almost always cast with an eye toward their immediate political effect. (For example, this year Republican Assemblyman Tom Horn, facing a hard fight in his San Diego district, voted with the Democrats to override the Governor's veto on every major vote but one.) The principal objective sought by Senator Robert Stevens of Los Angeles in getting the special veto session on the ballot in 1966, however, was the elimination of the Governor's pocket veto. The pocket veto was a device whereby the Governor could veto a bill when the Legislature was not in session simply by not signing it.

Now, with the special veto session thirty days after adjournment of the regular session, the Governor must return to the Legislature any bill he vetoes, together with an explanation of his reasons for the veto. If he does not specifically sign or veto a bill before the end of the thirty days, it becomes law without his signature.

In 1965, Governor Brown gave impetus to demands for adoption of new veto procedures when he allowed more than 140 bills to "die" by not taking any action — a procedure which infuriated many legislators who believed that the Governor should at least have to explain such vetoes. They argued that having to justify a veto results in more responsible action by the chief executive as well as fewer vetoes.

The latter contention is difficult to prove, although statistics indicate that there has been a significant reduction in the number of vetoes since the veto session was inaugurated. The first veto session coincided with Governor Reagan's first term of office, however, and the difference between the number of votes in 1966 and 1967 could be explained by a difference in style between the two governors. Nevertheless, a majority of the Legislature is

apparently unwilling to find out and must, therefore, put up with the veto session until something better comes along.

This year's veto session did not lack for verbal fireworks. At a press conference, Reagan sharply criticized the Legislature when asked to comment on a complaint by Senator Stevens that the Legislature didn't get the Governor's veto messages until just before midnight Sunday, the deadline for acting on bills. Stevens said that came close to flouting the Constitution. Reagan's response was immediate: "Yes, I've got an answer for Senator Stevens or any of the rest of them up there, if they will run their business a little better than to send 960 bills down in the last week." The Governor went on to suggest that the Legislature was past due for reform, that all that had been accomplished in this regard over the past decade was to let it grow from "a \$4 million annual legislative burden to about a \$20 million bureaucratic maze".

The following day, the Senate reacted with an unexpected 31-5 vote to override Reagan's veto of a bill by Republican Senator George Deukmejian to give 66 state firemen a special increase in retirement benefits. The Assembly, however, sustained the Governor's veto and Speaker Monagan, addressing the underlying issue, said he supported the Legislature's independence from the Governor but believed that a vote to overturn a veto should come on an issue involving major public policy. "I can't consider this major public policy", Monagan said.

### **REAGAN VETOES** *(Continued from previous page)*

existing benefits and the added cost of \$1.3 million, he was "unable to ask California taxpayers to bear this added burden".

### **Local Government**

For the second year in succession, the Governor vetoed a proposal by Assemblyman Gene Chappie to ease the requirement for formation of a new county. The Chappie proposal, designed to permit residents of the Lake Tahoe area to attempt to form a new county, would have reduced the petition signature requirements from 65 to 25 percent of the electors and the vote requirement from 65 percent to a majority of the total vote in each affected county. Arguing that these requirements are still too low, Reagan reiterated his previous concern that "unnecessary fragmentation of county government" could result.

### **Other**

Reagan also vetoed a bill (SB 637, Kennick) extending to constitutional officers privileges now contained in the Legislators' Retirement System and reducing the service requirements for all participants. This caused a public flap when it was discovered that the bill benefited three legislators, Assemblymen Robert Crown, Carl Britschgi, and Don Mulford, by as much as \$80,000. The legislators involved asked the Governor to veto the bill.

A bill to license auctioneers (SB 962, Walsh) was vetoed by the Governor because he could not find "any evidence of a compelling public need for a regulatory authority for auctioneers."



# Reagan's Legislative Program Boxscore

California governors have usually taken a strong public position in identifying and pursuing a legislative program. Ronald Reagan has not discarded this tradition, but he has made some significant alterations. Unlike his predecessors, Reagan does not always select authors for legislation he wants passed. Frequently, a legislator is surprised to learn he is carrying part of the Governor's program (see "Governor Reagan's 1970 Legislative Program Outlined," *California Journal*, March, 1970, pages 72-73).

The main emphasis in the Reagan approach is on the message he sends to the Legislature outlining areas where he feels legislation is needed. In some cases, his staff finds a legislator to introduce a specific bill for the Governor. Or a major program which has been developed in cooperation with the legislative leadership will be sponsored by the administration as part of the Governor's program. Frequently, however, the Governor will simply list items he wants without becoming involved in any of the legislative determinations.

Like many other Reagan adaptations, this approach keeps the Governor from becoming embroiled in legislative in-fighting. As a result, the Governor can claim credit for passage of bills which correspond to his program, but few defeats can be charged to the chief executive.

The paradox of the 1970 session for the Reagan administration is that the Governor was unsuccessful on the two issues that seemed to mean the most to him at the precise moment that he had achieved legislative majorities in both houses and a strong working relationship with the Republican leadership. On the Reagan tax bill, the recalcitrance of Republican Senator Clark Bradley was the margin of defeat for the Governor, and his attempt to weld an acceptable welfare reform package was scuttled largely because several Republican Senators did not accept the administration's plea that a bill was necessary to avoid loss of federal funds.

Following are the bills which can be identified as being part of Governor Reagan's program and what happened to them (defeated bills are in italics; approved bills are in bold):

## **Taxation:**

*AB 1000, 1001 (Bagley) Governor's tax program. Killed on Senate floor.*

*ACA 63 (Barnes) Require 2/3 vote on all state taxes. Killed in first policy committee.*

*SB 1263, 1264 and SCA 35 (Coombs) Create a Department of Revenue. Killed in First policy committee.*

## **Welfare:**

*AB 1360 (Duffy) Welfare reform bill. Killed on Senate floor.*

**AB 318 (Duffy) AFDC School Lunch program.**

*AB 1315 (Richardson) Redefine "disabled" to reduce welfare case load and AB 316 (Richardson) to cut welfare recipients allowable personal property reserves. Killed on Senate floor.*

**Reorganization Plan No. 2 (Governor) Create a Department of Health. Permitted to take effect.**

## **Consumers:**

**Reorganization Plan No. 1 (Governor). Rename existing department as Department of Consumer Affairs. Permitted to take effect.**

**AB 165 (Beverly) Require specified cause for cancellation of property insurance.**

**AB 323 (Hom) Set uniform sanitation standards for retail food outlets.**

**AB 733 (Lewis) Define minimum fire safety standards.**

**AB 1192 (Hayes) Permit state action to curb excessive charges for medical services.**

**SB 470 (Sherman) Establish major food, drug and cosmetic act.**

**SB 485 (Marks) Prevent tax consultants from selling confidential information**

**SB 647 (Bradley) Require franchise sellers to disclose financial information.**

**SB 1920 (Sherman) Require guarantees on thrift accounts.**

## **Education:**

**AB 122 (Ryan) Overhaul teacher credentials law.**

**AB 74 (Crandall) \$16.5 million school building aid bond program.**

**AB 73 (Veysey) Change membership of Coordinating Council for Higher Education.**

**AB 58 (Chappie) Veterans preference in college admission.**

*AB 2020 (Campbell) Impose state college tuition. Defeated in first policy committee.*

## **Environment:**

*AB 79 (Schabarum) Ban lead from gas. Defeated in Senate policy committee.*

**AB 80 (Schabarum) Set standards of unsaturation for gasoline.**

**AB 83 (Schabarum) Require air pollution districts in counties not covered with master plans for smog control.**

**AB 84 (Schabarum) Require procedures to test stationary sources of smog.**

**AB 87 (Schabarum) Establish air monitoring network.**

**AB 32 (Schabarum) Reduce taxes on natural gas.**

**AB 326 (Foran) Create Office for Transportation Planning.**

*AB 818 (Briggs) Regulate location of power generating plants. Defeated in Senate policy committee.*

**AB 1247 (Briggs) Develop 20-year master plan for location of power plants.**

**AB 1456 (Porter) Authorize waste facility bonds.**

*AB 2435 (Milius) Restrict solid waste disposal. Defeated in Senate committee.*

**SB 262 (Marks) Establish personalized license plates to raise revenue for smog control purposes.**

**SB 505 (Sherman) Establish testing program for smog control devices.**

## **Other:**

*AB 430, 446 (Monagan) Conflict of interest. Defeated in Senate committee.*

*ACA 73 (Biddle) Judicial Selection Plan. Defeated in Assembly committee.*

## General Fund Declines \$150 Million in 1969-70

State spending from the General Fund exceeded income by \$131 million in 1969-70 according to a preliminary report issued by State Controller Houston I. Flournoy. As a consequence, the carry-over surplus, after accounting for various adjustments and reserves, declined from \$537 million on June 30, 1967 to \$376 million on June 30, 1970.

The General Fund, which accounts for about 75 percent of state spending, started 1969-70 with a surplus of \$537 million, plus some \$107 million in reserves and adjustments. Total revenues and other additions amounted to \$4,355.7 million. Total deductions, including budgeted appropriations, expenditure of federal funds, transfers and other deductions, amounted to \$4,487 million, with an additional \$126.8 million earmarked for continuing appropriations extending into the next fiscal year. When these deductions were subtracted from the initial surplus plus total additions, the General Fund was left with \$386.2 million, \$150.9 million less than the amount with which it started the year.

### SUMMARY OF GENERAL FUND OPERATIONS 1969-70

|                                                             |                 |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|
| Surplus Available for Appropriation,<br>June 30, 1969 ..... | \$ 537,145,932  |
| Other Reserves and Adjustments .....                        | 107,198,061     |
| Total Prior Year Resources .....                            | \$ 644,343,993  |
| Additions:                                                  |                 |
| Revenue .....                                               | \$4,324,025,944 |
| Receipts from Federal Govt. ....                            | 27,276,674      |
| Other Additions and Transfers .....                         | 4,464,296       |
| Total Additions .....                                       | \$4,355,766,914 |
| Deductions:                                                 |                 |
| Appropriations                                              |                 |
| State Operations .....                                      | \$1,291,424,019 |
| Local Assistance .....                                      | 3,076,832,295   |
| Capital Outlay .....                                        | 63,216,628      |
| Sub-Total .....                                             | \$4,431,472,942 |
| Expenditure of Federal Receipts .....                       | \$ 27,276,674   |
| Other Deductions .....                                      | 28,316,152      |
| Reserve for Continuing<br>Appropriations .....              | 126,861,347     |
| Total Deductions and Reserve .....                          | \$4,613,927,115 |
| Balance Remaining .....                                     | \$ 386,183,792  |
| Reserve for Working Capital .....                           | 241,403,834     |
| Surplus Available for Appropriation,<br>June 30, 1970 ..... | 144,779,958     |

The remaining balance is further divided this year into a "reserve for working capital" of \$241 million and an available surplus of \$144.7 million. As this is the first year in which there is a reserve for working capital required by statute, it is necessary to add this reserve to the available surplus on June 30, 1970 to compare it with the previous year's available surplus. The new reserve amount is intended to carry the state's General Fund through the next fiscal year's month-to-month rise and fall of cash income.



## CALIFORNIA CALENDAR

- Oct. 6 **Assembly Transportation Committee.** Rm. 1138, New State Bldg., 107 So. Broadway, Los Angeles. 10:00 a.m. Subject: Allocation of Highway Users Tax.
- Oct. 7 **Assembly Transportation Committee, Subcommittee on Air Pollution.** Rm. 1138, New State Bldg., 107 So. Broadway, Los Angeles. 9:30 a.m. Subject: Air Pollution.
- Oct. 8-9 **State Board of Education.** Rm. 1138, Junipero Serra Bldg., 107 So. Broadway, Los Angeles. 9:00 a.m.
- Oct. 9 **State Board of Corrections.** Rm. 290, State Office Bldg. 1, 915 Capitol Mall, Sacramento. 9:00 a.m.
- Oct. 13 **Senate Committee on Business and Professions.** Los Angeles. 10:00 a.m. Subject: Investigation of Dept. of Human Resources Development plan to use private employment agencies to find jobs for welfare recipients.
- Oct. 15 **San Francisco Bay Conservation and Development Commission.** Rm. 1194, State Bldg., 455 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco. 2:00 p.m.
- Oct. 15-16 **University of California Board of Regents.** University Extension Center, San Francisco. **Assembly Education Committee.** University of California at Riverside. 9:30 a.m. Subject: Drug Abuse Education (15th); University of California Business Transactions; Use of University and State College cars and property.
- Oct. 20 **Assembly Health and Welfare Subcommittee on Drug Abuse.** Museum of Science and Industry, Exposition Park, 700 State St., Los Angeles. 10:00 a.m. Subject: Drugs. **Assembly Transportation Committee.** Rm. 1194, State Bldg., San Francisco. 10:00 a.m. Subject: High speed ground transportation.
- Oct. 21-22 **California Community Colleges Board of Governors.** Tropic and Surf Rm., Hanalei Hotel, San Diego. 9:00 a.m.
- Oct. 22 **State Water Resources Control Board.** Resources Bldg., 1416 Ninth St., Sacramento. 10:00 a.m. **Assembly Judiciary Committee.** San Francisco. Subject: Legal aspects of sterilization, abortion and family planning.
- Oct. 23 **State Social Welfare Board.** Holiday Inn, San Jose. 9:00 a.m. **Assembly Commerce and Public Utilities Committee.** Education Bldg., Van Ness Avenue, San Francisco. 10:00 a.m. Subject: Legislation affecting PUC.



## INTERVIEW

# Human Relations Agency Secretary

*Lucian B. Vandegrift is Human Relations Agency Secretary and an important member of Governor Reagan's cabinet. This interview, edited to fit these pages, was conducted September 22nd.*

**California Journal:** As Secretary of the Human Relations Agency you've got the responsibility for a large and very important part of state government. Briefly, what background do you bring to the job of agency secretary and what qualifications do you think it demands of its office holder?

**Vandegrift:** One thing it demands is a great deal of stamina.

My experience really starts with the Attorney General's office where I spent about 5½ years and handled a wide variety of state problems, some of them are intimately involved with what we're doing here. Then I worked in the district attorney's office in Butte County, and while there I got involved very deeply in the whole field of mental health and juvenile court matters.

I think you'll find that through the nine departments that we have, we're dealing often with the same people or the same families in different aspects of government, time after time. You find that in the welfare field — and I did a great deal of work there — the young girl who becomes pregnant out of wedlock is often not prepared to take care of the child. She's not physically or emotionally mature. And the child starts out often with quite a handicap. I've seen these welfare families where there were often crimes involved really at the time of conception, what they used to call statutory rape. Then the girl would set up a welfare family. Now she's involved in Medi-Cal. We ran across quite a few abuses in abortion and public health problems with

these same people, and often with problems of counseling these people with mental health problems, mental retardation, and then, unfortunately, often with juvenile court problems.

We would find many times in the same family multiple problems that would reach from welfare, health problems, crime, delinquency, mental health. So I saw the whole gamut in my work in the district attorney's office.

When I was asked to join Governor Reagan's staff in this agency as the assistant secretary, I was very interested in doing so because I felt more could be done at a state level where the problem really is, where the law has to be changed. Although when you get to the state level, you find that many of the problems are at the federal level.

I can't think of any position in the state or for that matter in the country that has more challenges, more opportunity for doing something really significant for society, for people.

**Journal:** How would you describe the functions of an agency secretary, based upon your experience?

**Vandegrift:** The initial thought about the agencies under Governor Reagan was that they be Deputy Governors. That title was not adopted, but the agencies are viewed really as an extension of the Governor's Office. We intervene in daily operations only when there are substantial policy problems that would require the Governor's intervention. We're to communicate policy both ways, from the Governor to the department heads, from the department heads we commun-

## BRIEF BIOGRAPHY: LUCIAN B. VANDEGRIFT

Lucian B. Vandegrift was appointed Secretary of the State Human Relations Agency by Governor Reagan effective January 16, 1970. Vandegrift had served since May 1968 as Assistant Secretary of the agency and, concurrently, from November 1968 to February 1969 as Acting Director of the new Department of Human Resources Development within the agency.

Vandegrift was born in 1926 in Woodland, California. He graduated from the California Maritime Academy in 1946 and served as a naval officer for a period thereafter. In 1950, he completed an A.B. degree at the University of California at Berkeley and then went on to graduate in 1953 from UC's Boalt School of Law. After gaining his law degree, Vandegrift joined the staff of the Attorney General in Sacramento.

In 1962, he was elected District Attorney for Butte County and he was re-elected in 1966, serving in that position for nearly six years before returning to Sacramento.

Vandegrift's father, Rolland A. Vandegrift, served the state as Director of Finance and then as the first Legislative Auditor (Legislative Analyst).

### Secretary for Human Relations

The Secretary for Human Relations is one of four agency secretaries within the Governor's office. Each of

these secretaries is responsible for supervising the operations of the various departments which have been grouped within the agency. In addition to the Human Relations Agency, the other three agencies are the Business and Transportation Agency, the Resources Agency, and the Agricultural Services Agency.

The basic responsibilities of an agency secretary are to advise the Governor on the formulation of program and management policies for the departments within his agency, to monitor and evaluate the operations of the departments, and to serve as the principal channel of communications between the Governor and the departments. The four secretaries, together with the Director of Finance, the Governor's Executive Secretary, the Controller, the Lt. Governor and the Treasurer make up the Governor's Cabinet.

### Human Relations Agency

The Human Relations Agency encompasses the following individual departments: Corrections, Youth Authority, Rehabilitation, Mental Hygiene, Public Health, Health Care Services, Social Welfare, Human Resources Development, and Industrial Relations. Together, these nine departments will spend approximately \$2 billion in state funds in 1970-71 and \$4.5 billion in funds from all sources. The largest expenditures are, of course, attributable to welfare programs, Medi-Cal and unemployment payments.

Please enter one-year subscription to  
**California Journal**

**Holiday Gift Subscription**

(fill in payment information at right)

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City & State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Sign Gift Card from \_\_\_\_\_

☐ Begin Subscription with December issue      ☐ Begin Now

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Agency \_\_\_\_\_

Street \_\_\_\_\_

City & State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

PLEASE WRITE IN THIS INFORMATION IF APPLICABLE.

YOUR TITLE AND / OR OCCUPATION \_\_\_\_\_

YOUR ORGANIZATION \_\_\_\_\_

☐ **INDIVIDUAL SUBSCRIPTION—\$15**  
(Personal check; home address)

☐ **LIBRARIES AND GOVERNMENT AGENCIES—\$25**  
(Includes quarterly index)

☐ **CORPORATIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS—\$50**  
(Includes index, annual binder and Quick Query service)

~~~~~  
☐ **Begin Subscription with Vol. I, No. 1**  
(January, 1970)

☐ **Other effective date** \_\_\_\_\_  
(If not with current issue)

~~~~~  
☐ **Journal Binder—\$6 (plus 30c tax)**  
(\$5 with \$25 subscription)

~~~~~  
☐ **CHARGE TO MY MASTER CHARGE CARD**  
# \_\_\_\_\_

☐ **PAYMENT ENCLOSED**

☐ **BILL ME**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG  
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FIRST CLASS  
PERMIT NO. 3472  
SACRAMENTO, CA

**Business Reply Card**

NO POSTAGE STAMP NECESSARY IF MAILED IN THE UNITED STATES

POSTAGE WILL BE PAID BY

**California Journal**

1108 O Street

Sacramento, California 95814

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG  
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

icate problems to the Governor, to the cabinet, that require the Governor's resolution of them. We try to bring about resolutions of problems, getting people to work together to coordinate their operations, to get the most for the taxpayers of this state in solving problems.

Having the agency secretaries located in the Governor's office may be actually a better proposal but you have space limitations. There was a proposal to move our office over to where most of our departments are located and I felt frankly that this was too far from the Governor's office and too close to our departments. Then there would be the tendency for the directors to catch you in the elevators and discuss problems on a casual basis which they should resolve themselves.

*Journal:* One of the most controversial issues you've had to deal with is the question of conformity between state welfare payments and federal standards. How have you been involved in that as Agency Secretary?

*Vandegrift:* First of all, we don't think there is a "conformity issue". For some reason the Washington bureaucracy has seen fit to suddenly challenge what we've been doing for a long time. I don't know why this is, but if the bureaucrats and the court would read what we've said then they would see that we are not out of conformity. It's ridiculous; California has one of the highest levels of payment for this area in the whole nation.

The burden of proof now is upon the welfare rights attorneys in this litigation in federal court, and until their case is proven, I think the benefit of the doubt should be given to the State of California in relying upon statutes enacted by our Legislature with long legislative history and long administrative history. We shouldn't suddenly presume that the State of California is suddenly wrong because there has been a change in view by the federal administrators and the courts.



*Journal:* Assuming for the moment that there is an adverse ruling by HEW, what is the next step for California?

*Vandegrift:* Assuming for a moment that HEW renders an adverse ruling, which I really doubt that they would, then the alternatives are again up to HEW. I don't see what more California could do other than go through the ritual, the mumbo-jumbo of rateable reduction.

*Journal:* What process do you follow to make policy decisions in controversial areas, for example in making welfare program cut-backs?

*Vandegrift:* Well, you have to rely upon the departmental personnel to evaluate their programs. It's up to the department to try and resolve program inequities and submit recommendations on how money can be saved. The proposed change in attendant care was submitted as one that could be accomplished without cutting-back any needed care, and it was based on that recommendation and that recommendation only that it was submitted to the Governor. But when they tried to apply it down within the bureaucracies of the county level what he had been told would be achieved was totally distorted, and he wasn't about to be a party to that type of inhumane treatment of people.

Normally, when we have a matter of significance like that, a matter of basic policy, the directors themselves prepare the cabinet memos and make the presentations. We are not in operations and we don't claim the technical knowledge, nor is it our function. We review the recommendations, from a broad policy base, and something that is detailed, that gets into specific regulations, is presented by the individual directors based upon the staff work within their departments.

*Journal:* Aside from reducing the cost of existing welfare programs, are you developing any new proposals in response to the widespread dissatisfaction with welfare, on all side, that you are free to talk about now?

*Vandegrift:* I can speak for myself on this. I've been proposing reforms in the welfare field for a number of years.

I think there are things that can be done. First we have to get some changes in our state law. There have been a number of proposals presented to the Legislature, some have been accepted, but most of our welfare reform package has not gotten through the Legislature.

I'm particularly concerned in seeing to it that fathers with children on welfare, those fathers who are able-bodied, that they be held responsible for the support of their children, that they be required to support them. I think a great deal can be done in that area. This requires the cooperation of the district attorneys in the counties, the county welfare directors, and it also requires the cooperation of the boards of supervisors.

We have recovered tremendous sums of money for child support, which meant to the extent that we recovered the money the mother did not have to receive public assistance. But the attitude at the county level was, "Yes, but half of that is federal money and a quarter of that is state money and only 18 to 25 per cent is county money and here you spend this county money to recover money for the federal and state governments. It's not worth it." Well, now we've gotten through the state Legislature a bill which will permit the counties to recoup their own expenses and give them some incentive to go after these absent fathers. Now there's a reform that will have tremendous impact in the area of the abuses relative to the people who are earning money and still eligible for welfare.

This is also going to take some changes in federal law. There should be some limit where people get off welfare. When you can have a person who's fully employed making over a \$1000 a month and still on welfare, getting food stamps, getting free medical care, while you and I have to pay for our health services, there's something wrong with the system. So we must make some major changes so that we have real equity in the system and we help those people who are in genuine need. But people who can take care of their own expenses should be expected to do so.

Another thing is the whole concept of the "work ethic". I think not only for fiscal reasons but for the benefit of the individuals involved in welfare they are going to feel better, they're going to be happier people, if they are productive people. I think the answer is in jobs. Now we find even the mentally retarded with very low IQ's can perform some useful functions. I think that our society is geared to the idea that people should produce something worthwhile, if they are able to.

When we start just giving people money, we under-cut their whole fiber, we destroy them, we take away their

(Continued on page 274)

# Selected State Government Reports

## CRIME AND PENOLOGY

- Parole Board Reform in California; "Order Out of Chaos".** Report by Assembly Select Committee on the Administration of Justice. March 1970. Interim study of the California Parole Board Structure and Operation with recommendations for reform.
- Police Personnel Complaints and Redress Remedies.** American Civil Liberties Union, Berkeley-Albany Chapter, 1919 Berkeley Way, Berkeley, 94704. June 1970, 86 pages.

## EDUCATION

- The Role of Communists in Campus Rioting** by Robert Betts. Copley News Service, 301 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814. July 1970, 12 pages. Series of articles reprinted from the *San Diego Union*.
- The Santa Barbara Riots** by Robert Betts. Copley News Service, 301 Capitol Mall, Sacramento, 95814. February 1970, 9 pages.
- The Nonresident Student.** Coordinating Council for Higher Education, 1020 12th St., Sacramento 95814, 1970. Section on both out-of-state and foreign students.
- Guidelines for Moral Instruction in California Schools; A Report.** State Department of Education, 721 Capitol Mall, Sacramento 95814. May 1969, 74 pages. Reprinted in 1970.

## ENVIRONMENT

- Ocean Coastline Study; Bay Area Regional Planning Program.** Association of Bay Area Governments, Hotel Claremont Bldg., Berkeley 94705. June 1970, 125 pages.
- Proceedings of the Eighth Meeting of the California Advisory Commission on Marine and Coastal Resources.** California Advisory Commission on Marine and Coastal Resource, Rm. 770, 714 P St., Sacramento 95814. July 1970, 86 pages. Proceedings for May 1-2, 1970 meeting of Commission in Santa Cruz covering coastal zone management.
- Progress Report of Joint Committee on Seismic Safety.** California Legislature. June 1970, 122 pages. Summarizes developmental year of the *Jt. Comm. on Seismic Safety*.

## FINANCE AND TAXATION

- Financial Statement for the General Fund and All Other Governmental Cost Funds, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1970.** Office of State Controller. September 1970, 52 pages.
- Local Income Taxes as an Alternative to Higher Property Taxes: A Summary,** by R. Stafford Smith. Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley 94704. August 1970, 5 pages.
- Report on the Review of the Allocation of Highway Users' Taxes.** For Assembly Transportation Committee by Auditor General. October 1970, 100 pages.

## GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

- The Extraordinary Majority Requirement in California.** Edited by Alvin D. Sokolow and others. Institute of Governmental Affairs, University of California, Davis, 95616. February 1970, 82 pages.
- Legislative Summary for 1970.** Assembly Office of Research, August 1970, 128 pages.
- California Local Agency Formation Commission** by Richard T. Legates. Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California, Berkeley. 1970, 128 pages.

Analysis of the LAFCO concept including present strengths and weaknesses and mapping out a legislative course for the future.

- Special Districts or Special Dynasties?: Democracy Denied.** Institute for Local Self-Government, Claremont Hotel Bldg., Berkeley 94705. May 1970, 101 pages.

## HEALTH AND WELFARE

- Ghetto Youth: A One Year Follow-Up Study of A Work Training Project** by Wendell R. Lipscomb. Bureau of Adult Health and Chronic Diseases, Dept. of Public Health, 2151 Berkeley Way, Berkeley 94704. March 1970, 43 pages.
- Consultant Standards; Standards and Procedures for Operation of the Medi-Cal Consultant Function.** Dept. of Health Care Services, 714 P St., Sacramento 95814. 1970, 14 pages.
- A Survey of Physically and Mentally Handicapped Welfare Recipients Who Have Vocational Rehabilitation Potential** by James A. Walker and David Petrocchi. Dept. of Rehabilitation, 714 P St., Sacramento 95814.

## VOTING AND ELECTIONS

- Statement of Vote, State of California Direct Primary Election, June 2, 1970.** Office of Secretary of State, State Capitol, Sacramento 95814. August 1970, 39 pages.
- We The People.** California State Chamber of Commerce, 455 Capitol Mall, Sacramento, 95814. September 1970. Two 48-page volumes, one on northern California and one on southern California (\$1 each). A comprehensive guide to the candidates in the 1970 California state and congressional elections.

## MISCELLANEOUS

- A Directory of Fair Housing Organizations in the State of California.** California Fair Employment Practices Commission, 455 Golden Gate Ave., P.O. Box 603, San Francisco, 94101. June 1969, 16 pages.
- Hearing on AB 1674 (Vasconcellos).** Assembly Government Administration Committee. May 1970, 157 pages. Transcript of hearing on Vietnam military service bill.
- Long-Range Master Plan for the Utilization of Electronic Data Processing in the State of California.** Prepared by the Office of Management Services, 1400 Tenth St., Sacramento 95814. May 1970, 55 pages.
- A Pilot Study of California State Employee Workmen's Compensation and Other Work-Related Benefits.** Commission on California State Government Organization and Economy, 11th and L Bldg., Sacramento, 95814. May 1970, 39 pages + appendices.
- 1970 Study Assignments.** Assembly Rules Committee. August 1970, 24 pages. Lists interim subject matter assignments by committee.
- Un-American Activities in California, Fifteenth Report.** Senate Fact-Finding Committee on Un-American Activities. August 1970, 288 pages. Biennial subcommittee report on alleged subversive activity in the state.
- Federal Aid Programs in California — Fifth Report to Legislature.** Office of Legislative Analyst. August 1970, 111 pages.

*Note: Unless otherwise indicated, reports may be obtained by writing the appropriate committee or agency, c/o State Capitol, Sacramento, Calif. 95814.*



## US Supreme Court to Rule On Housing Vote Constitutionality

The U.S. Supreme Court will consider a case later this fall which could have far-reaching implications for public housing for low-income families in California. The action, *Valtierra, et al. v. The Housing Authority of the City of San Jose, et al.*, is an appeal from a lower court decision which invalidated Article XXXIV of the California State Constitution.

Article XXXIV, adopted in 1950, requires local governing bodies to obtain approval of a majority of the local voters before acting to acquire, develop, or construct public housing projects for low-income families.

### Injunction Sought

Following the defeat of a proposal to acquire 1,000 units of public housing in San Jose in 1968, 22 residents of San Jose, including several low income families, brought an action in federal court to enjoin local government from relying on Article XXXIV as a reason for not applying for federal financing and to declare the provision unconstitutional. The action was brought by the plaintiffs as a "class action" on behalf of all other persons who are eligible to receive the benefits of public housing in Santa Clara County.

One of the plaintiffs, Mrs. Anita Valtierra, stated that her family, including seven children ranging in ages from 8 to 15, lives in a one-bedroom apartment which belongs to the City of San Jose, for which she pays \$75 rent per month. Her basic monthly income of \$335, which she receives from the welfare program, is approximately \$148 a month less than her basic needs as computed by the welfare authorities, but Mrs. Valtierra is able to supplement her income by working in a cannery during the summer months. For approximately one year she has been on a waiting list maintained by the Housing Authority of San Jose to occupy a public housing unit.

Another plaintiff, a Mrs. Anderson, is the mother of eight. She resides in a small, three-bedroom house for which she pays \$125 a month. The house, she says, is "overcrowded and infested with cockroaches." Her income is \$330 per month. She has been on the Housing Authority's waiting list for three years.

### No Available Housing

The plaintiffs allege that the San Jose Housing Authority had a waiting list of 625 families at the end of July 1969. Of those families, 164 were "verified emergency applicants" who had been found to have no housing whatsoever. The plaintiffs blame Article XXXIV for the shortage of public housing in San Jose.

The plaintiffs contend that Article XXXIV should be declared null and void because it discriminates against low-income families by imposing a "special burden" on low-income families which is not imposed on other economic groups. In order to secure federally financed housing, plaintiffs argue, poor families are required to run the gauntlet of the referendum election prescribed by the constitution. No other federal benefit is similarly conditioned, they charge.

The net effect of Article XXXIV is to condition the receipt of federal benefits by an "unprivileged minority" upon the "unfettered discretion of the privileged majority," according to the plaintiffs. They argue that this burden violates the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution because it effectively denies them equal protection of the laws.

### Equal Protection

The Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution provides that no state shall "deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The Supreme Court has held that the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits the type of discrimination which results when similarly situated groups or classifications of persons are treated differently. The obvious case of discrimination prescribed by the Fourteenth Amendment is when a person is subjected to a special burden, such as being deprived of his right to use public accommodations, solely because of his race.

The City of San Jose counters that Article XXXIV does not constitute a denial of equal protection, because no other group of persons is treated better than, or differently from the poor with respect to public housing. Defendants contend that the section would

be unconstitutional if, and only if, it were possible to obtain federal funds for the construction of housing for other persons without a referendum. Since this is not possible, they say, Article XXXIV doesn't discriminate against the poor.

In addition, San Jose contends that even if Article XXXIV did classify poor people separately from the general populace, it is not unconstitutional because the Fourteenth Amendment only precludes unreasonable discrimination. The city argues that the classification made by Article XXXIV is permissible because it reasonably permits local communities to decide if they want public housing.

The case was presented to a special three-judge federal court required for any injunction against the enforcement of a state statute or constitutional provision. The decision of such a court is directly appealable, in most cases, to the U.S. Supreme Court.

### Court Ruling

The court held that Article XXXIV is unconstitutional. In its opinion, the court stated, "The express discrimination in Article XXXIV, as it applies to only 'low-income persons', brings it squarely within the ban of a long line of Supreme Court decisions forbidding the unequal imposition of burdens upon groups that are not rationally differentiable in the light of any legitimate state legislative objective."

The court went on to say that Article XXXIV makes it more difficult for state agencies acting on behalf of the poor and minorities to get federal assistance for housing than it is for state agencies acting on behalf of other groups to receive federal financial assistance. The opinion cited other federally assisted projects which don't require voter approval, such as highways, urban renewal, hospitals, colleges and universities, secondary schools, law enforcement assistance, and model cities.

The court's decision was immediately appealed by the San Jose City Council and Councilwoman Virginia C. Shaffer. The Housing Authority, which had previously resisted plaintiffs' contention, has reversed its position and is urging the U.S. Supreme Court to affirm the lower court's decision.

Briefs will be filed by the parties in early fall, and it is anticipated the Supreme Court will hear oral argument in November or December.

## PROPOSITIONS (Continued from page 253)

These changes have been recommended by the Constitution Revision Commission. Veterans have opposed the deletion of language from the Constitution which purports to guarantee continued public employment to government workers upon military discharge even though the statutes continue to grant this privilege.

**16** *Constitutional Amendment.* This proposal will permit the Legislature, by two-thirds vote, to withdraw a proposed constitutional amendment which it has previously passed before the amendment is submitted to the voters. It also makes certain changes regarding the calling of constitutional conventions and delegates to such conventions, provides that in case of conflict the amendment which receives the highest popular vote shall prevail, and establishes the effective date for all ballot measure as the day after the measures are approved. It is opposed principally on the grounds that it makes important changes regarding the number and qualifications of delegates to state constitutional conventions.

**17** *Obsolete Provisions.* Proposition 17 repeals a provision in the Constitution which was adopted in 1948 to repeal an earlier provision. As that has been accomplished, it is now proposed to delete the unnecessary repeal provision. There is no opposition to this measure other than the ballot argument stating that such clean-up measures are unnecessary.

**18** *Gas Taxes.* Article XXVI of the state Constitution provides that state taxes on the manufacture and sale of gasoline may now be spent only for the construction and maintenance of public highways. The same article restricts the use of license fees for highway construction and law enforcement. Proposition 18 would allow counties to use up to 25 percent of the revenues generated within their borders for the construction of mass rapid transit systems, provided that the voters of the county or multi-county transit district approve by a majority vote. Similarly, cities and counties would be permitted to use up to 25 percent of the allocations they now receive for street and highway purposes for the construction of public transportation systems, subject to approval by the local voters. The state could also utilize portions of these funds to conduct research into the causes and solutions of pollution. Proponents of the measure say it will provide means for combatting air pollution and developing new ways to ease both urban and rural transportation problems. Opponents say it will siphon off gas tax funds which are needed for additional highway and freeway construction.

**19** *Usury.* It is a misdemeanor to charge interest for a loan in excess of the maximum interest rate allowed by law, under the terms of an initiative originally adopted in 1918. Proposition 19 provides that violation of the law by individuals, associations, partnerships or corporations not already exempted from the law shall be increased to a felony. The measure is aimed at the practice of "loan sharking", and does not affect savings and loans, banks, industrial loan companies, pawnshops, cooperatives, credit unions or other licensed lending institutions regulated by other provisions of law.



## PEOPLE IN THE NEWS

### APPOINTED

Mike R. Elorduy, 55, Secretary-Treasurer of the Teamsters' California State Council of Cannery and Food Processing Unions, to an unexpired term on the Industrial Welfare Commission, by Governor Reagan.

Dr. W. Ballentine Henley, 65, Provost of the University of California College of Medicine (Irvine) to a four-year term on the Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, by Governor Reagan. Subject to Senate confirmation.

Dr. Owen A. Knorr, 51, Director of the Coordinating Council for Higher Education, as a member of the Educational Commission of the States, by Governor Reagan.

Paul Lawrence, 56, as Region IX Commissioner of the US Office of Education, approved by HEW Secretary Elliot Richardson. Formerly Associate Superintendent of the California State Department of Education, Lawrence will become the highest-ranking black educator in the federal government.

John J. McCoy, 42, chief deputy of the Riverside County Sheriff's Department, as Director of the California Disaster Office, by Governor Reagan. Subject to Senate confirmation.

Dr. Lew D. Oliver, 59, former Vice President for Academic Affairs at Chico State College, as acting president of the college, by Chancellor Glenn S. Dumke.

Donald F. Pinkerton, 38, as Director of the Department of Housing and Community Development, by Governor Reagan. Subject to Senate confirmation. Pinkerton, the former Mayor of Fairfield, was narrowly defeated in June in his bid for the Republican nomination for State Senate in the Fourth District. He succeeds Charles R. LeMenager who appointed him Assistant Director of the Department in July.

Robert H. Reid, 27, former manager of Senator George Deukmejian's campaign for Attorney General and field director for the GOP State Central Committee, as special assistant to the Director of the Peace Corps in Washington.

### ELECTED

Forrest A. Plant, 45, of the Sacramento law firm of Diepenbrock, Wulff, Plant and Hannegan, as President of the 32,000 member California State Bar Association.

**20** *Recreation Bond Act.* Approval of Proposition 20 will authorize the sale of \$60 million in state general obligation bonds, with the proceeds to be used to pay for planning and developing recreation facilities and fish and wildlife "enhancement" in conjunction with the State Water Project. Of the total bond issue, \$54 million is to be spent by the Department of Parks and Recreation over the next five years for recreational facilities, principally at the major State Water Project reservoirs. The remaining \$6 million is to be spent by the Department of Fish and Game and the Wildlife Conservation Board to increase the fish and wildlife populations in and around the reservoirs and waterways of the project and access to them. Opposition to this bond act is based upon criticism of the use of bond funds rather than current revenues for this purpose, as well as opposition to any additional expenditures connected with the Water Project.



## LETTER FROM WASHINGTON

by Lou Cannon

### Congressional Paranoia

September 20, 1970

A congressman suffers from mild paranoia in election-year Septembers, especially if he hails from California or some other faraway region. Trapped in attendance at a Congress that the President and the press denounce, he is bemused by stray scraps of rumor from his home district indicating that his opponent of the season will call him a Nazi or spend half a million dollars to win the November election.

Thus it is that Democratic congressmen from California have enthusiastically embraced a strategy which has been widely urged upon Majority Leader Carl Albert of Oklahoma that would recess the House in mid-October rather than adjourning for the year as the Republicans expected. The strategy is intended to prevent President Nixon from "pulling a Truman" on the Democrats — doing as President Harry Truman did to the GOP when he called the "do-nothing 80th Congress" into special session and used it as his premium issue in the 1948 presidential campaign. Politicians have long memories for genuine upsets, and the political patriarchs of Congress remember 1948 as if it were only yesterday, perhaps because it confirms their secret fears that anything really can happen in an election. What they forget, however, is that Harry Truman used the do-nothing Congress theme to win the presidency, not the Congress.

It's difficult to understand how a restive electorate will prefer a Congress that has failed to pass welfare reform or a crime bill and recessed, over a Congress that has adjourned until January. But Albert, who has his hand firmly on the House tiller during the twilight cruise of Rep. John McCormack's speakership, has nonetheless accepted the notion of a recess, partly because the older incumbents see uncomfortable auguries in the defeat of ten colleagues in the primaries.

The recess, whenever it comes, will occur none too soon for Rep. John V. Tunney, who has been kicked around in his US Senate campaign against Republican Sen. George Murphy for a record of absenteeism that is among the worst in Congress. In addition to missing dozens of routine votes because of his campaigning, Tunney also failed to show up for votes he had promised to cast, such as the recent one on House reform. His rating from the liberal Americans for Democratic Action (ADA) plummeted from 90 to 50 percent, largely because of the ADA's salubrious policy of treating absenteeism as the equivalent of a no vote on its rating scale. However, it is ironic that the absenteeism charge, despite its accuracy, comes from Sen. Murphy, who missed many important roll calls in his first years in the Senate and who was conferring with his campaign advisors in California this year during a key and close Senate vote that almost cost California a chunk of its space program. Californians who are up-tight about absenteeism will not face an easy choice in November.

Despite their difficulties in answering roll calls, both Senate candidates readily fly in and out of Washington

when money for their own campaigns is at stake. The District of Columbia, with its absence of campaign spending disclosure laws, plus cheap liquor and abundant contributors, is a haven for political fundraisers, and both Murphy and Tunney made a run for the Washington money in September. Murphy's publisher gave away leather-bound copies of *Say . . . Didn't You Used To Be George Murphy?* at \$1,000 a book during a pierside party attended by a surfeit of freeloaders and few of the promised celebrities and congressmen. Tunney's Washington fundraiser, immediately upcoming at this writing, was preceded by a letter from his father, Gene Tunney, describing the financial needs of the campaign in terms somewhat more appropriate to the Battle of Britain.

#### *Some Random Postscripts*

Rep. Pete McCloskey professes unconcern about the efforts of congressional GOP regulars to deprive him of party funds because of aid and comfort given Democratic Rep. Allard K. Lowenstein of New York (*California Journal*, August 1970, page 237). McCloskey says he has appeared in behalf of GOP candidates in 17 states during the past year and notes that Vice President Spiro Agnew freely assists such Democrats as Armed Forces Chairman Mendel Rivers. "We're just different kinds of Republicans," says McCloskey of his critics. Among the McCloskey causes, incidentally, is Wilson Riles, who is opposing Max Rafferty for California Superintendent of Public Instruction. Riles was endorsed here by McCloskey and Sen. Alan Cranston, winner over Rafferty in the US Senate race two years ago. In his visit to Washington, Riles made a hit with the Senate Subcommittee on Equal Opportunity with testimony that integration and quality education is not "an either-or-choice." Cranston, a close friend of Subcommittee Chairman Walter Mondale, arranged for the testimony . . . Another Californian who visited here in September was Assembly Speaker Bob Monagan, who brought six California assemblymen with him for a luncheon with members of the Washington press corps.

\*\*\*\*\*

Despite forecasts to the contrary, the Nixon administration welfare reform package, known as the Family Assistance Plan (FAP), stands at least an even chance of emerging from Congress. That's because FAP is an amendment to the Social Security Act and few senators want to risk killing a social security increase just to stop the welfare package. Rep. Phillip Burton of San Francisco, who would rather have the bill than the credit, has become an honest broker between administration and congressional forces seeking to work out a compromise on FAP. One of Burton's proposals, earmarking ten percent of federal revenue sharing funds for state welfare costs, would particularly benefit California, which pays about 30 percent of the state costs for welfare nationally. In contrast, the proposed revenue sharing program is largely on a per capita basis, with California getting only 10 to 11 percent of the dividend.

## INTERVIEW (Continued from page 269)

dignity, and I think there is something very basically wrong with that.

*Journal:* Several of your departments are concerned with employment. With respect to the very serious unemployment problems that have developed, what do you think the state can do in this field?

*Vandegrift:* Unemployment is basically a national problem. It's not confined to California but involves all the states, the federal government. But we have done some things, such as getting the B-1 contract and other federal funds. And we've got programs to encourage private business to provide more jobs.

Another specific thing we're working on is the lowering of state employment entry requirements. You know, it's ridiculous to require a college degree or even a high school diploma for many of these jobs. We're going to change entry requirements so that people who need work can qualify.

And we're developing programs to train younger people to get jobs in private industry.

*Journal:* But is there much basis for optimism in the experience the state has had with work training programs, such as WIN and others?

*Vandegrift:* Well, keep in mind that we are just starting the WIN program; it is very new. California has probably done more than any other state in the union in this area, but WIN in itself is not the answer.

Ultimately the private sector is where jobs are, and I hope that government is not an employer of last resort or that we accept the fact that we are going to create government jobs. But there are a few things that are going on that are interesting in that area. There are some OEO organizations that have been set up to do contract work with welfare recipients. We're working with one, together with the Resources Agency, where welfare recipients are planting trees. Now it's actually saving money and it's a job that has to be done.

With environment and ecology such big things, I think there is practically no limit to the good things that can be done to improve our environment; there's a lot of work there. If the money is going to be spent anyway, why not try to direct it towards people who can do that type of work. It gives them something productive to do. We're paying them anyway on welfare, so why not let them produce something. I think that there was a lot to be said for the CCC and the WPA if we have to go ultimately to government employment. But let's hope that we can get private industry interested in some of the sheltered workshops here, where some of our mentally retarded patients are doing productive work and are making money doing minor type of manual labor jobs, trimming washers and cleaning up electronic parts.

*Journal:* Earlier you used the term, "social failures" to describe the people with whom your departments deal. Does this term really describe the problem or is it much broader than that implies?

*Vandegrift:* Yes, it is much broader, I don't think any term like that adequately describes the scope of these problems.

I think employment is something we must work on. And I think it all gets back to education. Many of these people haven't had the family models to follow so they



## VOTING RECORDS

### KEY VOTES

#### SENATE

114—SB 220 (Dymally) Added two non-voting legislative members each to the Los Angeles Coliseum Commission and the Sixth District Agricultural Association. Veto sustained 18-16.

115—SB 242 (Harmer) Established a commission to prepare a decentralization plan for the Los Angeles City Unified School District, with the plan to be submitted to the Legislature by July 1, 1971. Veto sustained 14-18.

116—SB 374 (Stiern) Established a district agricultural association and fair site in eastern Kern County. Veto sustained 20-12.

117—SB 1104 (Deukmejian) Increased retirement benefits for state firemen, other than those employed in the Division of Forestry of the Department of Conservation, by placing them in the law enforcement category of the Public Employees Retirement System. Veto overridden 31-5.

118—SB 1371 (Beilenson and Stevens) Deleted from the California freeway system that portion of California Highway 2 which is between Route 405 and Gower Street in Los Angeles. Veto sustained 11-12.

119—SB 432 (Petris and Sherman) Appropriated \$750,000 to the State Department of Public Health for a statewide rubella (German measles) immunization program. Veto sustained 19-9.

#### ASSEMBLY

156—AB 808 (Brown) Prohibited certificated school administrators from achieving tenure. Veto sustained 19-13.

157—AB 1333 (Foran) Restored the CHP salary increase appropriation, reduced to \$2.5 million (3%) by Governor Reagan, to its original \$4.2 million (5%). Veto sustained 45-6.

don't know what is required for steady, productive employment. They don't know how to spend their money wisely for food and to develop the habits of productive citizens.

We have to teach them these things — and not at thirty or forty but at thirteen or fourteen, or even better, from their earliest years.

*Journal:* You're saying that if the state is concerned about these people, it must be prepared to intervene in their lives and to change their way of life?

*Vandegrift:* Well, I'm not advocating a totalitarian government that intervenes in people's lives when they don't want it. People must be free to live their lives as they want to, without concern from the state.

But when they come to us asking for money, asking that we support them, then we have a right to expect that they use it intelligently. And I don't think you can start teaching them these habits too early. A lot of the problems we have, start with kids who never have any adequate parental supervision in their homes.

Many of these people have never developed what we call "lunch box habits", that is to get up in the morning, wash their faces, get dressed, eat breakfast and go off to work. They have to be taught these habits so that they will become useful, productive citizens.

158-AB 1807 (Vasconcellos) Specified that the state's gross sales service charge from blind vending stand operators could not be used for administrative costs. Veto sustained 23-15.

159-AB 1967 (Miller) Eliminated magistrate's discretion as to whether a person who receives a traffic ticket may plead guilty or *nolo contendere* in a county other than that which issued the warrant. Veto sustained 23-16.

160-AB 2263 (Burton) Required utility companies to pay six percent interest on customer service deposits held for more than one year. Veto sustained 31-17.

161-AB 1304 (Zenovich) Extended Cal-Vet loan eligibility to all California veterans who have served for a specified period on or after February 1, 1955, regardless of type or place of service. Veto sustained 33-11.

162-AB 1305 (Zenovich) Would have given low-income veterans up to 30 years to pay off Cal-Vet loans. Veto sustained 35-9.

163-AB 1383 (McCarthy and Powers) Requires investigation by the Division of Industrial Safety within 72 hours of any written complaint of unsafe conditions, unless the division determines the employee complaint is submitted as employer harassment or without reasonable basis. Veto sustained 43-5.

164-SB 1104 (See Senate votes for description.) Veto sustained 35-14.

Y — Yes on override  
N — No on override  
\* — Not voting

## SENATE

### REPUBLICANS — 21

|                  | 114 | 115 | 116 | 117 | 118 | 119 |
|------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| BRADLEY (14)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| BURGNER (38)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| CARPENTER (34)   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| COLOGNE (36)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| COOMBS (20)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| CUSANOVICH (23)  | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| DEUKMEJIAN (37)  | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| DOLWIG (12)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| GRUNSKY (17)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| HARMER (21)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| LAGOMARSINO (24) | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| MARKS (9)        | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| MARLER (2)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| MCCARTHY (4)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| NEJEDLY (7)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| RICHARDSON (19)  | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| SCHRADE (39)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| SHERMAN (8)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| STEVENS (25)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| WAY (15)         | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| WHETMORE (35)    | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |

### DEMOCRATS — 19

|                | 114 | 115 | 116 | 117 | 118 | 119 |
|----------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| ALQUIST (13)   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| BEILENSEN (26) | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| BURNS (16)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| CARRELL (22)   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| COLLIER (1)    | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| DANIELSON (27) | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| DILLS (32)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| DYMALLY (29)   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| KENNICK (33)   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| MILLS (40)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| MOSCONE (10)   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| PETRIS (21)    | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| RODDA (5)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| SHORT (6)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| SONG (28)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| STIERN (18)    | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| TEALE (3)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| WALSH (30)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| WEDWORTH (31)  | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |

## ASSEMBLY

### REPUBLICANS — 40

|                   | 156 | 157 | 158 | 159 | 160 | 161 | 162 | 163 | 164 |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| ARKLIN (41)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| BADHAM (71)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| BAGLEY (7)        | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| BARNES (78)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| BELOTTI (2)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| BERRYHILL (30)    | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| BEVERLY (46)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| BIDDLE (74)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| BRIGGS (35)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| BRITSCHGI (26)    | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| BURKE (70)        | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| CAMPBELL (50)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| CHAPPIE (6)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| COLLIER (54)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| CONRAD (57)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| CRANDALL (25)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| DENT (10)         | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| DUFFY (21)        | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| HAYES (39)        | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| HOM (79)          | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| JOHNSON, R. (4)   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| KETCHUM (29)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| LANTERMAN (47)    | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| LEWIS (73)        | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| MACGILLIVRAY (36) | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| MILIAS (22)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| MOBLEY (33)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| MONAGAN (12)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| MOORHEAD (43)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| MULFORD (16)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| MURPHY (31)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| PRIOLO (60)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| RUSSELL (62)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| SCHABARUM (49)    | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| STACEY (28)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| STULL (80)        | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| VEYSEY (75)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| WAKEFIELD (52)    | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| WILSON (76)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| WOOD (34)         | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |

### DEMOCRATS — 39

|                   | 156 | 157 | 158 | 159 | 160 | 161 | 162 | 163 | 164 |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| BEE (13)          | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| BRATHWAITE (63)   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| BROWN (18)        | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| BURTON (20)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| CORY (69)         | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| CROWN (14)        | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| CULLEN (44)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| DAVIS (1)         | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| DEDDER (77)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| DUNLAP (5)        | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| FENTON (51)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| FONG (15)         | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| FORAN (23)        | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| GARCIA (40)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| GONSALVES (66)    | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| GREENE, B. (53)   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| GREENE, L. (3)    | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| JOHNSON, H. (58)  | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| KARABIAN (45)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| KNOX (11)         | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| MACDONALD (37)    | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| MCCARTHY (19)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| MILLER (17)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| MORETTI (42)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| PORTER (38)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| POWERS (8)        | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| QUIMBY (72)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| RALPH (55)        | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| ROBERTI (48)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| RYAN (27)         | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| SIEROTY (59)      | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| THOMAS (68)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| TOWNSEND (67)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| UNRUH (65)        | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| VASCONCELLOS (24) | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| WARREN (56)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| WAXMAN (61)       | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| Z'BERG (9)        | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |
| ZENOVICH (32)     | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   | Y   |

To give up the task of reforming society is to give up one's responsibility as a free man. The task itself is endless, and large parts of it, sometimes the whole of it, must be performed anew by each succeeding generation.

—Alan Paton